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Anti-Abolition Tracts.---No. 1.

ABOLITION AND SECESSION;

OR,

CAUSE AND EFFECT.

TOGETHER WITH THE

REMEDY FOR OUR SECTIONAL TROUBLES.

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THE AMERICAN SLAVE

AND HIS CONDITION

IN 1850

BY J. W. F. WALKER, ESQ.

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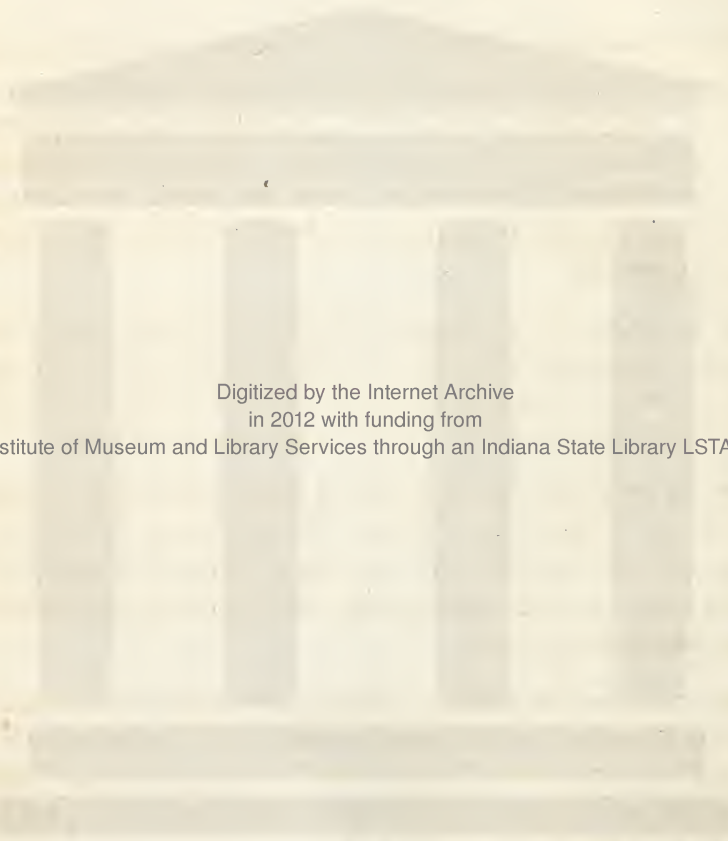
INTRODUCTORY.

After eighty years of peace, progress and boundless prosperity, the great American people find themselves in a civil war the most stupendous and frightful recorded in history. *What does it mean?* This stupendous inquiry, hitherto utterly hidden from the great-hearted, honest and patriotic masses, the writer proposes to answer. And to do this satisfactorily, he has divided the subject into three separate portions, thus enabling the reader to obtain clearer views of all phases of the the stupendous question now shaking the continent from centre to circumference.

First.—He will *demonstrate* that negroes are a different and subordinate species of *mankind*, and in their normal condition at the South, and therefore a warfare on so-called slavery is a warfare on society, and “impartial freedom,” immediate or “ultimate,” either now or a thousand years hence, must necessarily involve the destruction of that section.

Second.—It will be shown that political anti-slaveryism is the cause of secession, and though *we* may not think it valid or sufficient, those whose interests, whose liberty, whose families and firesides are involved, assume otherwise, and present to the world every possible proof of their intention to resist an anti-slavery policy, even to the extent of immolation or utter extermination, if need be.

Third.—Finally, it will be shown that “crushing out” political anti-slaveryism, or the removal of the the *cause*, is the only natural or possible cure for *secession*; and when this is done, and Constitution construed to include white men alone in the ranks of citizenship, and the liberty and civilization of America are thus rendered secure forever, that the men of the South will themselves “restore the Union.”



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ABOLITION AND SECESSION.

PART I.

THE CAUSE.

The human creation is a group or family composed of several species, some six or seven of which are sufficiently known to be classed and defined with absolute certainty. Among all the innumerable beings composing the organic world, there is no such thing as a single *species*, and the absurd dogma of a single human species or race, so universally accepted in modern times, is as irrational and utterly in conflict with the fixed and fundamental laws of organic life, as the idea or notion of a stick with a single end, is in conflict with the laws of physics. Superficial and ignorant minds fancy that if Negroes are not *black-white* men, or colored men, as they term it, why, then, forsooth, they must be something midway between *us* and animals, as if because the rattlesnake was not the same as the gartersnake, why, of course, it must be half a bird or fish, or some other monstrosity, midway between snakes and some other form of life!

We see all about us, every day, on every side, the manifestations of the simple and fixed laws of organic life. All are grouped together in families. The eagle and the owl are both birds,

as are pigeons, robins, etc., but *different* birds. So with fishes—the shad, salmon, trout, pickerel, etc., are all fishes, but different species of course. So with serpents—the black snake, the adder, moccasin, garter and rattlesnake, are all alike snakes—but what a world of difference between the harmless little reptile of our gardens and the rattlesnake, the venomous and terrible creature that strikes and kills in an hour!

Again: among dogs it is seen they are all dogs, all with the capacity of interunion; yet what an almost boundless difference between the graceful and intelligent hound or pointer, and the brutal and stolid bull-dog. Can any one be so stupid or so wicked as to try to educate the bull-dog into the habits of the hound? or to *force* them to live the same life, to manifest the same qualities, to compel these creatures, whom God has made different, and designed for different purposes, to fulfil the same purpose? Surely there is as great a relative difference between the Caucasian and the Negro, as there is between the hound and the bull-dog? and to force the former into “impartial freedom” involves as gross and as awful an impiety as to strive to equalize the latter, or to compel beings whom God has made different,

to manifest the same qualities, and to live out the same life. But it is not necessary to multiply words on a subject of fact—demonstrative, physical fact. All that is needed to a rational mind, or even to the lowest grade of intelligence, is the simple statement of these facts, with the unavoidable inferences that belong to them, to convince the wildest and most bewildered among us, of the awful error under which they are laboring in respect to the social order and domestic institutions of the South.

As has been said, the human creation is a family or form of life composed of some six or more species. Like all other families or forms of life, they have a *generic* resemblance, but are *specifically* different. This difference is uniform and absolute, fixed forever by the hand of God, and no human ignorance, folly, or impiety, can ever modify it to the millionth part of an elementary atom. The difference in the physical—the mere organic structure—pervades the entire moral and intellectual being, so that comprehending the former, we can easily measure the latter, or, in other words, the physical differences between the white man and the Negro, represent exactly the intellectual.

As with all other *genera*, there is a certain capacity of interunion in the several human species, less, however, in the instance of Caucasians and Negroes than in other races, for these two occupy the extremes of the generic column, the former being at the head, and the latter at the base of this column. There is always an imperfect vitality in the mulatto and mongrel verging to absolute sterility, and the fourth generation of the former is as absolutely forbidden to multiply itself as the mule in the first generation.

Such, briefly presented, are the funda-

mental and everlasting *facts*—fixed forever by the hand of God—the Negro is a different and widely different human species—the most inferior, as the white man is the most superior of all the human races. Why this is so, or when or how the Almighty Creator saw fit, in His boundless wisdom and infinite goodness, to thus ordain things, we do not know or ever can know. It is hidden from us, as is the beginning and the ending of our own individual existence, and the man or the men who seek to know it—to penetrate the counsels of the Eternal—to know when, or how, or why the human creation exists, as it now stands before us, palpable to the sense, and unchangeable in its *diversities*, commit a similar folly to that of the individual man who might seek to know either the beginning or the end of his own existence. It is a *fact*, existing, unchangeable, and everlasting, while the organic world itself exists, that the human creation consists of several separate species of men, differing just as widely as do species in other, and all other forms of life, and to shut our eyes to this *fact*, and blindly, stupidly and wickedly assume them all to be a single species, we must not only continue to inflict a terrible punishment on ourselves, but we shall richly merit such punishment.

This Negro race is here, must always remain here, for it is wanted here, and if some Infinite Power should interpose, and suddenly annihilate it, we would instantly set to work, fit out ships, and replace them by fresh accessions from Africa, otherwise some seventy degrees of latitude in the centre of the Continent, *must* remain a desert waste, and their natural products, so absolutely essential to the progress and happiness of mankind, would be lost to the world. Further-

more, the Negro, isolated in Africa, is, and *must* be, a useless, nonproducing savage. His organism as utterly forbids any thing else, as that of the quadruped forbids an upright posture and all human experience is in accord with these physiological facts. We must, therefore, admit that God designed the Negro for juxtaposition with the superior white man, otherwise he would be created in vain, a supposition, of course, not to be tolerated a moment. Moreover, his wonderful capacity of imitation—that striking quality which those ignorant of his nature have often mistaken for real capacity—is a positive proof that God designed him to exist in juxtaposition with the superior race. The social relations between beings so widely different in their endowments as the Caucasian and Negro, and the purposes the Creator has assigned them, should not be, as indeed they never have been, mistaken by those actually in contact with these Negroes. That the subordinate Negro must occupy a subordinate social position, is an unavoidable truth; but, it is replied, it does not follow that he should be a slave. Of course it does not, but what is a slave? All God's creatures, human and animal, have a natural right to live out the life he has adapted them to. When they do this they multiply and are happy; when they do not, they are miserable and die. *When they live the life that they are designed for, they are free; when they do not, they are slaves.* These obvious truths only need to be applied to Negroes to determine the point whether they are slaves in Massachusetts, or free in Virginia. In Boston, according to the statement of the City Register, the births among these poor creatures, for five years past, are 124, while the deaths for the same period are 376, thus show-

ing that it is only a question of time when Puritanical and bastard philanthropy shall have destroyed all the Negroes of that "enlightened" commonwealth. On the contrary, the Negroes in Virginia, for this same period, have multiplied even faster than the whites themselves.

Similar results are universally demonstrated by the Federal census in all the States of the Union. The subordinate Negro is in a subordinate social position, and rapidly multiplies; or he is forcibly thrust into the position of the superior white man, and rapidly perishes. Or, in other words, the Negro in the South lives in accord with the nature God has given him, and is happy, and rapidly increases in numbers; while in the North he is forced into conflict with all his natural wants, and miserably perishes. *The term slave is, therefore, a misnomer, a word borrowed from Europe, expressing a certain relation of white men to each other a thousand years ago, and senseless when applied to the South.*

Such are the facts as regard the Negro. In respect to ourselves, the presence of this natural substratum of society excludes all those artificial and unnatural distinctions among the dominant race, borrowed from the Old World, and secures freedom and equality for the masses. Our whole political and party history presents one continuous proof of this vital truth. The planter, or the so-called slaveholder of the South, is an agriculturist, producer, indeed, a laborer, for it is his brain, directing the hand of the Negro, that constitutes labor at the South. His interests are identical with the producer of the North, and these classes, in the form of the Democratic party, have governed the country, acquired all its Territories, and fought all its battles for sixty years past; indeed, southern "slaveholders," with their

natural allies, as Mr. Jefferson termed the laboring classes of the North, have made the Republic what it is, or rather what it was, when Mr. Lincoln was elected to the Presidency by a moiety or fraction of the northern people. But though this government was made by so-called slaveholders, though Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, nearly all the great men of the country, were the natural offspring of a society founded on Democratic principles, and the natural distinctions of race, though three-fourths of the votes in Congress against national banks, protective tariffs and other schemes for plundering labor of its rewards and enslaving the working classes of the North, have been those of "slaveholders," though all the Presidential vetoes against these schemes were those of southern Presidents; in a word, though the "slaveholders" of the South are the natural allies, and have always defended the rights of the northern producing classes, antagonist forces, acting through the ignorance, misconception and absolute delusion of certain classes in the North, have long endangered the peace of the country, and at last precipitated it into the present frightful crisis.

These forces are wholly foreign in their origin. Europeans, ignorant of the races of this continent—the Indian, negro, &c.—imagine them similar beings to themselves, except in color, and naturally entitled to the same rights, therefore, when held in subordination to the white man, and denied these rights, of course imagine them slaves. They rarely see a negro, and suppose the black skin, woolly hair, thick lips, &c., that they read of, are the results of climate or of many years of savagery, slavery and other imaginary causes of physical degradation. This notion, or this conception, so

natural under the circumstances to the European mind, has been borrowed from the Old World by those among us who read British books and form their ideas on European models. And instead of enlightening Europe on the subject, or instead of demonstrating to them that the negro *is* a negro and is *not* a Caucasian or "colored man," even our ethnologists and men of science have passively assented to the absurd assumption, while all our book writers, editors, &c., have made this assumption the starting-point of all their reasoning on the subject of so-called slavery. And until a very recent period, even those who assumed to defend the social order of the South did so on the basis of this foreign assumption of a *black-white* man, having the same natural right to liberty as other men, or as having the same natural rights as themselves. Thus is witnessed the strange, and indeed utterly disgraceful anomaly of American society convulsed and American institutions endangered by an *idea* not merely European, but one, in fact, that would be an impossible conception to the American mind were we wholly isolated from Europe. The negro *is* a different and inferior man just as an owl is a different and inferior bird to the eagle, or as the bull dog is a different and inferior dog to the hound, and were we wholly shut out from intercourse with Europe, it would, of course, be as absolutely impossible to conceive of a *black-white* man, or that the negro was a man like ourselves except in color, as it is to imagine an owl an eagle, or a bull dog a hound.

Here, then, is the great, fundamental, absolute and unmistakable *cause* of all our troubles—the palpable and elementary error of the northern mind—the fatal and deplorable origin of the popular

delusion—the original starting-point of that wide-spread, often well meant, but always pestilent and malignant “philanthrophy,” which has corrupted northern intelligence, patriotism, and even, to a certain extent, the instincts of race, and led large numbers of the northern people into a blind, bitter and unrelenting warfare on their brethren of the South.

But though this European conception, or rather misconception, of the negro is natural enough, indeed could not be otherwise with those ignorant of all races save their own, it would not carry with it any evil or mischievous influence, did not circumstances connect it with the political interests of Europe, and especially with those of the English aristocracy. Prior to the American Revolution of 1776, no one ever heard of an Abolitionist, or that “negro slavery” was wrong, or that it was an evil that some day should be removed from the world, and if these States had remained in subjection to England and in harmonious relation with the British aristocracy, it is altogether unlikely that there would now be such a thing as an Abolitionist, either in the Old World or the New. All the nations of Europe are Caucasian—white men, the same race, unless perhaps a few thousand Laplanders in Norway. Except France, whose condition is exceptional, if not abnormal, all these nations have the same system, the same social order, the same general principles of government, and though England pretends to be free and thinks Russia despotic, there is little or no difference in the actual condition of the masses of their people.

Society is divided by artificial distinctions into kings, bourgeoisie and peasants, in fact, into the few and the many—the few who produce nothing, yet enjoy every thing, and the many who produce every-

thing but enjoy nothing. They are all the same race, created free and equal, sent into the world with the same wants, the same faculties, in short, the same nature, and therefore were designed by an Almighty and beneficent Creator for the same purpose, to enjoy the same happiness and to perform the same duties. But from the instant they come into the world, the system of social order takes possession of them, and forces them into widely different conditions—the few into idleness and luxury, the many into lives of ignorance, toil and brutality, differing very little from the animals that they labor with. One man often owns a whole county, and turns several thousand acres of fertile land into a park for deer, where he may “enjoy the pleasures of the chase,” while twenty thousand of his brethren, his own kith and kin, white men and women whom God created his equals and designed for the same happiness as himself, are denied enough of the soil of their native land to bury them in when dead! Half a million of hereditary aristocrats, with, perhaps, four or five millions of shopocracy, or so-called middle-class, which serve as a sort of police agency, and enjoy a certain portion of the plunder, constitute the governing force, the real and only “England;” while the great, ignorant, toiling, voiceless and voteless millions are mere beasts of burthen to their brethren—to those whom God created their equals and designed for the same purpose as themselves—but who, through human inventions of “Church” and “State,” are artificially elevated into superior beings. Nor does England, except in degree, differ from the rest of Europe, though the few are doubtless the richest while the many are more abject in their poverty than elsewhere. It is the system, the condition

which has come down from barbarous and semi-barbarous times; the few are artificially elevated and the many artificially degraded, so that the latter are regarded, and doubtless regard themselves, as beings of a "lower order," as indeed they are universally designated in England. That a society thus existing, or that the ruling classes should regard the masses as no better than American negroes, and should, therefore, imagine the negro hardly dealt with when denied the "freedom" of the English or European laborer, is consistent, and, under the circumstances, perfectly logical.

American society, resting on the natural distinction of race, fixed forever by the hand of the Almighty, is irreconcilable with theirs, and though there may be outward peace, the conflict is none the less deadly between conditions and systems thus vitally antagonistic. We are twenty-five millions of white men, whom God has created equal, in juxtaposition with four millions of negroes, whom *He* has created inferior, and our system, State and national, is based on these fixed, unchanging and everlasting *facts*. The white citizenship are naturally equal, and, therefore, enjoy equal rights; the negroes are naturally inferior, and, therefore, occupy a position of social inferiority corresponding with their wants and the nature God has given them. Between us and the Old World, or between us and England, who is the leader and bulwark of the old order, there is no peace or possible compromise. The few must expect to abandon their privileges over the many, must give up their wealth and power over the masses, and reorganize society on a Democratic basis like our own, or they must break down the American system thus in contrast and contradiction to their own. Fortunately for

the temporary preservation of the aristocracy, the ignorance of their people enabled them to strike their deadliest blows at us in the name of liberty and under the pretence of philanthropy. The negro "slave" of America was assumed to be a *black*-white man, or man like themselves except in color, and consequently a slave, and, therefore, the American system, with one-sixth of its population denied all rights whatever, was, to the ignorant European mind, worse even than their oppressive system of kings and aristocrats. The writers and supporters of monarchy had thus a boundless field for denunciation of our and eulogy of their own system, which, whatever the practical consequences in theory, seemed vastly more liberal and humane than American Democracy resting on a supposed slavery. And, if the premises or the assumptions were sound, the inferences were indeed unavoidable. If the negro, except in color, were a man like ourselves, with the same nature and the same wants as the white man, then everything imagined by the Abolition writers for the past sixty years would, or might have been, true enough. But the government, the ruling force, the aristocracy, were impelled not alone by these writers, but from the necessities of their condition, to make war on us, and instinct prompted them to strike at "negro slavery" as the vital principle of our system, the foundation on which rested the entire structure of Democratic institutions.

There are in America thirty millions of white men, some twelve millions of negroes, and about the same number of Indians or aborigines. If, therefore, the assumption that all these different beings were the same, with the same nature, same wants, &c., in short, naturally con-

sidered, entitled to the same rights, if this dogma or theory was literally practiced, it could only be a question of time when American society would be utterly demoralized and Republican institutions overthrown. Or, in other words, if the distinctions of race, the fixed and everlasting boundaries decreed by the Almighty between white men, Indians and negroes on this continent were disregarded, corrupted, violated and trampled on, a time would needs come when society, as now organized, would be destroyed, and, instead of the natural distinctions of race, there would follow the artificial distinctions of class common to the old societies. That the upholders of the European system should, therefore, strike at "negro slavery" in America, is not alone logical, but absolutely a necessity of self-preservation. Their statesmen may not always have understood themselves the causes prompting them to make war on "negro slavery," but an instinct inherent in hostile systems impels them, unconsciously, perhaps, in this direction.

As has been said, it was only when Jefferson declared the immortal and everlasting truth, that "All (white) men are created equal" and a government or political system based on this truth or rather this *fact*, was organized, that English writers discovered the frightful wrong of "negro slavery." and English statesman began that *crusade* in behalf, or pretended behalf, of the lower races of this continent that has worked out such stupendous results, and at last has culminated in the *quasi* destruction of the American Union.

They have expended some five hundred millions of treasure in this crusade, and abolished the natural order of society in the whole tropical centre of the continent, except Cuba and Porto Rico.

The supremacy of the white man abolished, and the negro left without guidance or control, relapses, of course, into his original Africanism, and if we are to suppose that Americans are never to be permitted to restore the normal order or the natural relations of the races, the time would soon come, when some seventy degrees of latitude, right in the heart of America, must be occupied by a huge Africanism or heathenism like that presided over by the King of Dahomey and other African savages.

But all these deplorable results, the ruin of industry, production, civilization in the centre of the continent, with the decay and ruin of all that is healthy and desirable in human society, in the heart of the New World, the vast expenditure of treasure, thus forcing the British laborer to take bread from the mouths of his own children to pay the interest on money squandered on the American negro—the loss to human welfare of those vast productions of the tropics which, sixty years ago, made Jamaica, San Domingo, &c., centres of trade and commerce—the actual destruction of something like one million of negro lives in the vain attempt to put down the "slave trade," and the rapidly approaching Africanism of those islands least influenced by the white man—all these boundless and measureless evils that the great "anti-slavery," delusion of our times has dragged after it—are, after all, trifling in comparison with that wide-spread corruption of the American mind and perversion of American intelligence, which has, at last, culminated in civil war

So long as the American mind remained untainted and American society intact, the *diableries* of the "anti-slavery" delusions were comparatively harmless. Canada and Jamaica alike

might be given over to the huge imposture, the islands might be destroyed, the genial and naturally luxuriant tropics that God designed for the welfare and happiness of his creatures might be rendered a desert, the negro permitted to relapse into his idle and useless savagery, even the bones and muscles of the over-worked and under-fed white slaves of England might be mortgaged for centuries to come, to pay for all this devil's work, so long as the freemen of this Republic were untouched and untainted by the great delusion, the energy of our people, and the vitality of our institutions would, sooner or later overcome all this surrounding rottenness, and restore civilization to these wasted regions.

But innumerable books, tracts and pamphlets, and hordes of crazy lecturers, like the frogs of Egypt have overflowed the land, and deluded the so-called educated classes into a belief or notion, the most absurd, most disgusting and debasing that ever corrupted the mind or perverted the moral instincts of mankind. It is now some thirty years since an open and direct effort was made by British agents, and their tools among us to propagate these debasing theories. At first a popular instinct prompted the people to mob them, but after a certain time they were thought to be harmless, and, by common consent, were permitted to propagate their disgusting tomfooleries without let or hindrance. As observed, to the European, who had never seen negroes, or any other race but his own, it was easy enough to imagine a *black* white man, or man like himself, except in color, but the American, who saw them every day, and who, however absurd his theories, could not, nor did not, debauch the instincts God had en-

dowed him with to the extent of practicing his own professed belief, will remain a marvel and a mystery to the latest generation. They accepted the European notion that a negro was a man like themselves having the same origin, the same nature, the same right to liberty, &c., and denounced those who would not practice their doctrines as guilty of every conceivable crime against humanity, and yet these people would prefer to see a sister or a daughter dead at their feet rather than live out their own belief, or rather than they should intermarry with the most pious, intelligent and worthy negro that ever lived! Indeed, while their minds were corrupted, and their reason utterly prostrate, those instincts of race which the Almighty endowed them with for the preservation of the species, remained uncorrupted, and their blood pure, but that they should never hesitate to denounce others for not doing that which they, if really tested, would rather suffer death, or rather have their friends suffer death, than practice, is certainly a form of mental malady altogether unparalleled.

Thirty years of steady iteration, however, of the same absurdities, with an apparent profound conviction of their truth, backed by British influences, British literature and British policy—indeed, by the common sentiment of the “civilized world,” that is, of kings and their flunkies, these absurdities, these miserable tomfooleries of *black-white* men and imaginary slavery, and impossible slaveholders, have resulted in the formation of a political party organized for the purpose of reducing them to practice! This party began its existence several years ago, and was led by writers and orators, who, setting out with the assumption

that the negro was a man like themselves except in color, and therefore, naturally considered, entitled to the same liberty or rights, was not merely ignorant, but necessarily as utterly ignorant of *everything* in one half of their common country as they could be of the internal affairs of Japan or other countries that none of them had ever visited and yet, under a constitution designed to secure the common welfare, these ignorant and deluded men aspired to govern the South! Unfortunately for the country, for this party even, for all of us, the writers and politicians avowedly opposed to it in the North, not only failed to expose and explode its delusions, but such was the universal corruption of the northern mind, that they actually assented to its miserable abstractions as admitted truths! The "anti-slavery" writer assumed the negro to be a man with the same (natural) rights as himself, and four millions of these negroes were consequently slaves at the South, and slavery being wrong, and a great evil, it was the duty of every citizen to aid in the removal of this evil. His opponent admitted all these assumptions, but professed to have some kind of specific—popular sovereignty, Lecompton, or some contrivance or other, which he insisted would, in time, produce the same result; that is, remove or neutralize the admitted evil, but do so in some mysterious way satisfactory to the South. The people of the North thus left without guidance, and fairly buried for years under an avalanche of falsehood and folly, finally elected Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, not from any real belief in his party creed, but because they were disgusted and indignant at the insincerity and want of candor, if not of honesty, in his party opponents.

Here, then is the legitimate culmination of the great "anti-slavery" delusion of half a century, a man elected to the Presidency by a sectional party, on a platform (as claimed by this party) of avowed hostility to the South. If after the election, Mr. Lincoln's party had disavowed this hostility, Virginia, Tennessee, &c., would doubtless have submitted to the sectional and constitutional action of the Northern States however indignant their feelings at the gross injustice done them by their brethren at the North. But the leaders and party organs utterly refused to do this, and declaring that the people had decided against the "extension of slavery" or any future expansion of the population of the South, avowed their design to stand by that decision, at all hazards, and to the last extremity. This election, and especially the interpretation given it in the Peace Convention by the "anti-slavery" leaders, brought the question to a crisis, for between the North, as represented by this party, and the South, there *was* and *is*, no ground for peace or possible settlement, and yet such is the width, and breadth, and length, and depth of the "anti-slavery" delusion, that few, if any of the public men of the country understand this startling and terrible truth.

We need scarcely to refer again to the *causes* producing the national troubles but a brief consideration of the certain, indeed unavoidable consequences of reducing, or of striving to reduce the "anti-slavery" notions to practice, will present these *causes* in such clear and enduring colors, that a man may run and read them, and though a fool, understand them. The party that elected Mr. Lincoln assume that negroes are *black-white* men, with the same natural

right to liberty as their masters, that the relation between them is forced and artificial, and dependent on the *lex loci*, and therefore being wrong, and an evil, that it should be abolished, and "impartial freedom" secured to all alike. Their practical programme is to prevent any further "extension of slavery," and thus penning up this negro element within its present limits, with the *prestige* of government on the side of "freedom, a time must come when "slavery," or the existing order *must* disappear and "impartial freedom" follow of course. All this, when understood, is simply and exactly just this, and nothing else:—*They suppose the negro to be a black-white man, and they propose to use the government to realize their idea, or transform their theory into fact* Europeans, necessarily, have this conception of the negro, for they are ignorant of his real nature, and British writers, British books, British policy, and British teachings have so corrupted their minds and perverted their understandings that the leaders of this party engage in this monstrous undertaking, to abolish the supremacy of the white man or the subordination of the negro, and give them the same freedom.

The negro is a creature of the tropics, as absolutely so as the orange or plantain, and for seventy years past the laws of climate and industrial adaptation have constantly attracted him in this direction as shown by the several census reports from 1790 to 1860, and to interrupt this vital law, to violate this fundamental principle of national progress, would be a death blow, not alone to so called slavery, but to the national life, and fatal to the future of American civilization. But suppose it done—that in all coming time the negro population of

the South were penned up within its present limits, what then? Why, it is said, "slavery" will become so unprofitable that the masters will themselves desire to be relieved from it, and the several States will abolish it, and universal liberty or "impartial freedom" will be secured. That is, society, as now organized at the South, will be so debauched and demoralized that the whites will do longer assume superiority over the negroes, and all will stand on the same common level of legal and political equality. Of course, if such a thing were possible, there would follow social equality and universal amalgamation, for though the dupes of this stupendous delusion dream of a possible state where all will enjoy "impartial freedom" without amalgamation, no one but an absolute lunatic, when they really reflect on the subject, can tolerate such nonsense.

The population, thus penned up within existing limits, and "slavery," or the social relations of the races, so corrupted and disorganized that the whites no longer claim superiority, and universal equality and fraternity, are complete, what then? Why, simply this:—We are twenty five-millions of whites in juxtaposition with four millions of negroes. The "anti-slavery" idea thus practicalized, would, in the second generation, have annihilated the specific negro—there would only be mulattoes—the third generation would end in quadroons, and, as the mulatto of the fourth generation is as absolutely sterile as the mule, it could only be a question of time when every drop of negro blood would disappear as entirely as if there had never been a negro on this continent.—Here, then, would be the final end of the stupendous delusion of the day. First

—The theory or assumption of a *black-white* man with the same nature and same right to liberty as ourselves. Second—The formation of a party to carry this into practice, through the action of the Federal Government. Third—The penning up of the negro with consequent debauchment and destruction of existing relations. Fourth—"Impartial freedom," and the consequent social equality and ultimate amalgamation, ending finally in the total extinction of the negro element. If some debauched, idiotic or brutal man should set up the assumption that a bull dog could be made to manifest the qualities of the grey hound, and should set to work to realize his *idea*, everybody would know that he might kill the former by his experiments, but could not change the eternal order of nature. Or if some philanthropist of the "anti-slavery" order should assume that he could change the color, hair, the form of the features, the shape of the limbs, or any other *physical* quality of the negro into that of the white man, everybody, however ignorant or deluded on the subject, would understand its cruelty and folly and know, beyond doubt, that while he might kill the poor negro, he could not change or modify, in the slightest degree, that which the Almighty Creator had fixed forever. And yet here is a party that proposes to set aside the handy-work of the Eternal, and transform four millions of different and subordinate negroes into black Caucasians and "impartial freedom" with themselves.

But while the "anti-slavery" idea, thus reduced to practice, would necessarily end in the "ultimate extinction" of the negro element, so awful a sin against "God and humanity" would

react in a still greater punishment of the nation guilty of such a transcendent crime. Of the twenty-five millions of whites, four millions would be involved in this admixture of races, and as the uncontaminated among them would escape from a land thus doomed, nearly half of this great Republic would be as Mexico, Central America, &c., are now, a mere mongrel mass of diseased and effete humanity, a source of decay and weakness, rendering us the possible, or indeed the probable, prey or conquest of some European nation. But as has been remarked, in the course of time the negro blood would die out, this hideous ulcer on the body politic would be healed, the vast mass of diseased humanity would slough off, and the nation, the typical Caucasian finally recover itself. Again we should be nation of untainted white men, as we were before this experiment of securing "impartial freedom" to the negroes began; but who can measure or what imagination can conceive even, of the intermediate degradation, suffering and despair involved in it? We can form some notion of the wrong and suffering that would be inflicted on the negro by comparison with that which would follow, if some "philanthropist" should try the experiment of transforming his *physical* nature into that of our own. Of course he would kill him in the process, and, in view of his misery, would it not be more humane to murder him outright at once? So too, with the four millions in the South—in comparison with the practical application of the "anti-slavery" idea—the freedom, equality, amalgamation, mongrelism, and "ultimate extinction" would be immeasurably more cruel than their immediate and universal massacre. And if "the anti-slavery" party were to

order the army to march and totally exterminate the four millions of negroes in the South, it would be an act of the highest humanity in comparison with using them to force "impartial freedom" with all the terrible consequences involved, on these subordinate and helpless people. Inded we witness all about us an approximation to these terrible truths.

New York has some fifty thousand negroes, who are constantly diminishing because, instead of leaving them where God and nature placed them, in subordination and under the protection of the white man, we *force* them to live under the theory of an equal freedom, and it is consequently only a question of time when they will be utterly exterminated. Massachusetts, who most rigidly imposes the burden of "impartial freedom," most rapidly destroys these helpless creatures, and indeed we may always determine, with an approximation to accuracy by the simple application of this test, when the free negro of the several States will be wholly extinct.

But while such would be the certain however remote result of carrying into practice the theories of the "anti-slavery" party so far as the negro is concerned who can estimate or even imagine the boundless and illimitable calamity that would result to ourselves and the general cause of civilization. To pass by the destruction and loss to the world of the single item of cotton, which now, directly and indirectly, furnishes subsistence to possibly ten millions of white men, to leave out of view rice, sugar, all the other great staples essential to human happiness, to abandon some seventy degrees of latitude in the centre of the continent to become barren wastes, or equally repulsive to plant a

huge African heathenism in the centre of the continent—to pass by all these *trifling* considerations, we have only to contemplate the "ultimate extinction of slavery" and "impartial freedom" with four millions of negroes in the South, as actually dreamed of by the lunatics of the day, with its unavoidable consequences of social equality, amalgamation, mongrelism, disease and final extinction of the negro element, to understand the bitterness, the unutterable and intolerable sense of wrong felt at the South, towards those who, in their wicked ignorance and blind atrocity, are laboring to bring upon them and their children a doom more awful than was ever yet visited on human kind since the world began. True, they may not themselves comprehend it in detail or in form, but that instinct of self-preservation which God has planted in the heart of the race, in order to preserve the integrity of its organism, enables them to *feel* it, and to shrink, with overpowering disgust if not of terror, from the approach of such a danger.

No matron in the South ever heard the names of Garrison or John Brown uttered without clasping more closely the child on her bosom, not from any personal fear of these men, but from that instinct of self-preservation with which God has endowed her, and which taught her that the "idea" connected with these names involved the extinction of her blood.

The reader may understand this instinct by comparing the fate of St. Domingo with that of Jamaica. The French Democrats of 1792, in the National Convention, ignorant of the nature of the negro, and, of course, supposing him a man like themselves, decreed "impartial freedom" for the six

hundred thousand "slaves;" but the twenty five thousand whites of that island resisted this monstrous crime to the uttermost. The result was that the negroes, stimulated by British and outside agents, and led on by mongrel chiefs, exterminated the whites not one man, woman or child being left on that island to tell the tale of their destruction. About the same number of whites in Jamaica resisted "freedom" (peaceably) but at last were overcome, not by physical force, but by the corrupt and perverse opinions of England embodied in the Parliament, and the result of "impartial freedom" is social equality, amalgamation, mongrelism, and the rapidly approaching extinction of the white blood. A few years hence this hideous process must complete itself, and the white element as utterly disappear from Jamaica as it has from Hayti. The sole difference is the mode of extinction; in one immediate and universal massacre, in the other "impartial freedom," amalgamation, mongrelism and disappearance of the lesser element; and between these modes who would not prefer the former to the latter, or, who would not prefer that his children or his posterity should be slaughtered at once, rather than gradually rot out through the veins of the negro?

It is an instinctive perception of this—a seemingly blind, but wise instinct—which the mad creatures fancy "predjudice against color," that render the "anti-slavery" leaders of the North so faithless to their own professed belief, and who, doubtless, would prefer death for a son or a daughter in preference to the practical application of that belief. But what punishment can be imagined that would equal the deserts of those people, who, safe at home amid a homo-

genous population, would force upon their own brethren in actual juxtaposition with four millions of negroes, doctrines or notions, which, rather than practice themselves, they would prefer death, or, rather than they should be lived out in their own households, would, doubtless prefer the massacre and utter extinction of these households? But wicked, monstrously, awfully wicked as these blind creatures are, or, rather, would be if they had any knowledge, even the smallest atom, of that which they labor to accomplish, there are others^s that posterity will hold to a more fearful account still. These are they who organize a political party in the North to get possession of the Federal government, and to use *that* as an instrument as they say, for the "ultimate extinction of slavery," or, in other words, who seek to use the common government, the government of Virginia, the Carolinas, &c., for inflicting a doom on the people of those States, which, rather than suffer themselves, they would prefer death! Fortunately for the credit of the present generation of Americans, these people are ignorant, blindly and utterly unconscious of the crimes they seek to commit, and posterity will therefore, in mercy draw a veil over this horrible phase in the national life, and strive to blot it out forever from the national records. Summing up the foregoing remarks, it will be plain to the reader then that the negro, being a widely different and subordinate race or species from our own, is in his normal condition when in a subordinate social position as in the South; that the presence of this subordinate race or natural substratum in American society, which gives us clearer views of our own natural equality and prevents those artificial distinctions of class which so disfigure

and degrade the nations of Europe, is the cause, or main cause, of the success of our Democratic institutions; that in this fact is found the British hostility to "negro slavery," which, being in constant and irreconcilable antagonism to *their* system of class distinctions, necessarily impels them into ceaseless warfare on it; that this hostility, though embracing all of monarchical Europe, would not be or need not be dangerous to us, so long as our own people were uncorrupted by European teachings, and hostile influences, but when, accepting these false teachings instead of the results of their own every day experience and large numbers of them proceed to form a party in the North to impose their wild delusion of suppositious *black-white* men and imaginary slavery on the South, they not only violate the spirit of the Federal compact, but they are blindly striving to destroy themselves, their government, their Republican institutions and civilization itself, as well as the welfare and happiness of the people of the South; that, as no more extension of slavery and "impartial freedom" with negroes, would necessarily transform and deform one-half of the Republic into the condition of Mexico, Central America. &c., and end in the ultimate extinction of the negro element, it would, therefore, in comparison, be vastly more humane to slaughter these negroes at once than thus to doom them to gradual or "ultimate extinction," through the tender mercies of the "friends of freedom;" and, finally, that this monstrous, world-wide and deplorable delusion, in which are wrapped up such hideous and fearful possibilities being based on the fundamental falsehood that the negro is a man like ourselves except in color, all that has been done, written or

said in the past, or that may be attempted in the future, *must* be equally false, fatal and deplorable, and in conflict with the eternal order ordained by the Almighty Creator.

PART II.

THE EFFECT.

The election of Mr. Lincoln, by an anti-southern party, embodying the delusions we have been considering, and based on the assumption that southern society is fundamentally wrong and immoral, and that this society should be revolutionized or "abolished," with the declaration that it designed to use the government to accomplish this object was the greatest insult, indeed the greatest (moral) wrong ever inflicted (unconsciously) on any people, and when, as in this case, it was done by a portion of their own countrymen, there are no terms in our language that can adequately express its enormity. The insults of the Abolitionists proper, for thirty years past, have been grievous indeed, and hard to bear. They charged, through their innumerable tracts, lecturers, books and newspapers, that the eight millions of men and women of the South were living in the daily practice of crime and immorality, and labored, with the energy of devils incarnate, to make the world believe their absurd statements.

But whatever the insults and wrongs of the Abolitionists proper, except to corrupt and annually entice away some hundreds of negroes from the South, they did not resort to any practical means to injure the southern people. They confined their labors to the propagation of their foolish abstractions in

respect to southern society, and when they had thoroughly impregnated the northern mind with their notions, they hoped to dissolve the Union by inducing the northern States to withdraw from it. When they began their "enterprise," they expected to "enlighten and purify" the South, and induce the men and women of that section to "abolish" their supremacy over their negroes, and affiliate with the subject race; but they have long since abandoned any hope of this kind, and labored solely to prepare the northern people for secession and separation from those they charge with the practice of such stupendous crimes.

So far, then, as *they* were concerned, the people of the South had no substantial reason for complaint, for free discussion and freedom of opinion, however erroneous or even insulting, should be, or might be, tolerated, so long as they took no practical steps to force their absurd theories and assumptions on the South. But when a political party is organized to reduce these theories to practice—to get possession of the common government and to make *that* an instrument for forcing *their* dogmas on the people of the South—to use their own government for doing that which, could it be done, would bring a doom more horrible than any mankind have ever known on the people of that section, then, it is repeated, an insult and moral wrong was inflicted that has no parallel in history. Of course such an issue, as that presented by the party supporting Mr. Lincoln could not be accepted or tolerated in the South, and though a few scattering votes were cast in the border States, no canvass was admissible, and therefore, as regards Mr. Lincoln's election, the people of fourteen States were disfranchised as absolutely as if they

were Cubans or Mexicans. If, for example, as predicted once by Joe Smith, Mormonism should become so dominant in the South and West as to enable its followers to set up a Presidential ticket against the marital relation, surely New England, untainted by the delusion, would never consent to such a canvass within her borders. If it were assumed that the present relation of the sexes was fundamentally wrong and immoral, and though, as a State institution, marriage might be tolerated, but the instant the husband and wife passed within federal jurisdiction, the relation should no longer be recognized, and the power and *prestige* of the Federal Government should be cast against it—surely, under such circumstances, Massachusetts would not only refuse a canvass of this kind, within her own limits, but would refuse to recognize a President elected on such an issue.

It is not necessary to enter into any proof in respect to which would be the greater evil, abolition of marriage in the North or the abolition of "slavery" in the South; the perversion of the natural relations of the sexes, or the corruptions of the natural relations of the races; but every rational mind that shall truly understand the unavoidable consequences wrapped up in the latter, will be unable to even imagine any condition of human existence so fraught with boundless and indescribable horrors as "impartial freedom with negroes." But, indeed, we need only to compare Utah, with its industry, progress, and however contradictory it may seem, its morality, with Jamaica, San Domingo, and the South American Republics, to understand that, however unnatural and monstrous may be a perversion of the natural relation of the sexes,

it does not involve such abhorrent and frightful results as the destruction of the natural relation of races. To the people of the South, therefore, the election of a President by the North, on the assumption that the relation of the races common to the South was immoral, and pledged to wield the government for its ultimate extinction, was, tested by *their* standards, or viewed from *their* standpoint, as has been remarked, the greatest insult and moral wrong that ever was or ever could be inflicted on a civilized people. They said to themselves: "We have struggled for many years, not against foreign enemies or open foes, but against our own countrymen, our professed brothers, who seek to use the government—the common government of us all—for our destruction, for the ruin and desolation of all that is sacred and valuable in human society!" They said:—"We of the South have never asked, or dreamed of asking, any special favors from this government. We are planters and producers, and need no favors from government, and, in our whole Federal history of eighty years, there has never been a single bill introduced in Congress that, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely, benefited any southern State or any southern community, at the expense or to the detriment of any State or community at the North. That, on the contrary, the northern States have asked and have received vast benefits at *our* expense; above all, that Massachusetts, the leader of the crusade against us, from the hour the government was formed, has made it an instrument for her benefit, or the benefit of certain classes of hers, at our expense; that her commerce, her manufactures, fisheries, &c., have drawn

"millions upon millions from the pockets of the producing classes, through tariffs, fishing bounties and special protection; while we have neither asked for nor desired anything whatever, and sought simply to confine the government to the legitimate purposes for which it was originally designed. But, worse than all this, the North has for years, in sheer wantonness, sought to damage our interests and endanger our peace, and we have struggled, session after session and year after year, to prevent our own government from being perverted into an instrument for our ruin, until at last they have succeeded, and elected a President pledged to wield it for bringing a doom on us or our children the most monstrous and terrible that could be inflicted on human society!"

Such was the argument of the southern leaders, writers, and the universal organs of opinion; and should we wonder that it was overwhelming? It was not the mere election of Mr. Lincoln, by a sectional majority which virtually disfranchised the *voter* of the South, *that*, they said, though an intolerable insult, *might* have been borne, but it was a fatal symptom that signalled the deadly hostility of the North. With a majority in the legislative, and judicial departments of the government against him, Mr. Lincoln was powerless, and incapable of any serious mischief to the South. But the anti-southern party, beginning a few years ago with a half a dozen members of Congress, had steadily increased in power. It had got possession of nearly all the northern States, and a few years hence, with the admission into the Union of the several north-western Territories, its control of the Senate was certain, and with its loudly proclaimed design of

taking possession of all the departments of the Federal Government, and of remodelling the Supreme Court and reversing the Dred Scott decision, the time was not distant when the South would be utterly helpless in the grasp of this fearful power, thus wielding the machinery of government for the destruction of all that is cherished as sacred and valuable. It was said, if the South submitted to this assumption by the North of the executive department, it would become a precedent for submission when the legislative and judicial departments were also monopolized, and moreover, if submitted to in one Presidential election, it would become a precedent in future elections, and thus the strange anomaly and startling spectacle would be presented to the world of a combination of northern States usurping permanent rule over the States of the South, and under a system based on the great principle of self-government, rule over them as absolutely as Russia does over Poland, or France over Algiers! Nor was this danger ominous as it was, or seemed to be, to the great principle of self-government, the most to be dreaded by the South; for, back of all this, or rather the motive for all this usurpation of power was the universal avowal of using it for the "ultimate extinction of slavery," and for forcing the white citizenship into "impartial freedom" with negroes. Most vital of all, there was no organization, social, political, or religious, in the North that defended their social order from overthrow or even stood by the constitutional rights of the men at the South as defined by the Supreme Court, and therefore the southern people were hopeless of returning reason or future justice.

The terrible mistake of the northern mind, that the "South" and "slavery"

are distinct entities, or that a man may be a friend to the "South" and an enemy to "slavery," renders multitudes utterly incapable of comprehending southern opinion and southern motives of action. The truth is, they are inseparable: the South is "slavery" and "slavery" is the South, and every man opposed to one is necessarily an enemy of the other. The "South" is composed of eight millions of white citizens and four millions of subordinate or subject negroes—the first are naturally superior, the latter naturally inferior—the human law is in accord with these fundamental facts, and whatever the domestic and social defects, the *lex loci* is adapted to the wants and best interests of both races, for it is in harmony with their natural relations. Legal equality is the normal condition of the white citizenship, for they are naturally equal, and "slavery" or subordination of the negro is the normal condition of the negroes, for they are naturally subordinate. A change in the status of these negroes would, therefore, necessarily involve a change in the condition of the former, or if the normal condition of the negro were overthrown, it would, of necessity, involve or carry with it the destruction of the normal condition of the white citizenship. In other words, the abolition of negro subordination involves, of necessity, the abolition of white equality; in short, the abolition of slavery is, to the white men of the South, the abolition of their own liberty. All know this instinctively, and feel it in the profoundest depths of their nature even when incapable of reasoning it out to their own satisfaction, and therefore every southern man, whose instincts have not been corrupted by a northern or European education, feels that the "anti-slavery" man of the

North, consciously or unconsciously, is the deadly enemy of his own liberty.

Briefly, then, the election of Mr. Lincoln was regarded by the South as the signal of a deliberate and fixed design, on the part of the North, to take permanent possession of the common government, and to wield it as an instrument for *their* destruction, and as it would, in a short time, have possession of the legislative and judicial, as well as the executive department, and the South, with the principle of self-government stricken down, would be utterly helpless in the grasp of its deadly enemies, *now* was the time for resistance, and before they were bound hand and foot, and at the mercy of those who loudly and universally proclaimed their design of inflicting a doom on them or their children more terrible than death itself.

PART III.

THE SOLUTION.

Mr. Lincoln was elected by a party whose organic principle was hostility to the South or to so-called slavery. A man might be bank or anti-bank, tariff or anti-tariff, indeed, might hold whatever opinion he pleased on any subject, if he were only hostile to "slavery" or to the existing order of southern society, and was willing to make such hostility effective by embodying it in the government. Large numbers voted for him simply because they wished to get rid of the dodges and contrivances of Democratic politicians; but the great mass of them really believed that subordination of the negro to the white man, common to the South, was wrong, and that the government should be used (in some way to

limit and finally bring about an extinction or abolition of this suppositious wrong. Of course, Mr. Lincoln would appoint to office none but those embodying this sentiment, and as the secession left him unrestrained by the Senate, we are to presume that every official connected with the executive government is hostile to the South. The legislative majorities are equally pronounced in their hostility or anti-slaveryism; thus, except the judicial department, which, under the circumstances, is unable to restrain the powers that be, the whole Federal government is as absolutely in conflict with "slavery" as is the government of Massachusetts. The military forces may be quite the reverse of the civil functionaries, but the military power is subordinate to the civil, and for all practical purposes, it is just the same to the people of the South as if every soldier of the Republic was a furious Abolitionist.

If these forces are overwhelming, and crush out all resistance in the South, and the southern people are forced to submit to the policy of an "anti-slavery" government, with its inevitable consequences, then the *end* may be seen with absolute certainty. It assumes that southern society is wrong, that the existing relation of whites and negroes in the South is immoral, that it should be abolished, and regarding whites and negroes as entitled to the same freedom within the Federal jurisdiction, it hopes, by casting the weight and prestige of the Federal Government against the existing order, that the States will some day "abolish" the legal supremacy of the white man, and "impartial freedom" will be the *end*. Here, then, would be, of necessity, the final or ultimate result of the great struggle—"universal free-

dom"—the degradation of twenty-five millions of white American citizens into legal equality with the four millions of negroes.

The whole subject may be summed up thus: First—A theory is set up in the North, or rather borrowed from Europe, that the negro, except in color, is a man like ourselves, and therefore naturally entitled to the same rights. Second—A party is organized in the North to carry out this theory in the South, to get possession of the government and to institute a policy that shall some day abolish the subordination or social *status* of the negro, and secure the same freedom or the same rights for all alike. Third—When this party elected a President, the South seceded from a government thus brought in conflict with the integrity of the social order. Fourth—It was forced back into submission to an "anti-slavery" policy that finally ends in the extinction of legal subordination of the negro and universal legal and political equality of "all men." The consequences wrapped up in "impartial freedom" with the four millions of negroes in our midst, have been so fully considered, that they need not be repeated and it will suffice to say that it would be better for the eight millions of white men and women of the South to be exterminated by the sword at once, rather than they should ever be forced into "impartial freedom" with their negroes.

And if one can suppose the ignorance and blindness of the North to go on, and able to force this awful doom upon the South, the results to themselves, would be the destruction of their own liberty, and, to a certain extent, their civilization. If after they had sacrificed 100,000 lives, and loaded their posterity with four or five thousand millions of debt, they will

have succeeded in degrading themselves to a level with negroes, or as the blind and deluded leaders of the anti-slavery party declare, secured "impartial freedom" for all alike, the system organized by Washington and the men of '87 would be revolutionized, overthrown, and the Republic distorted into a mongrel assemblage, while half of the States would finally collapse into the condition of Mexico, Central America, &c. Instead of the southern planter or "slaveholder," the northern farmer and laborer would find his natural ally in the southern negro, and the Washingtons, Jeffersons and Jacksons of the South who, with the abolition of the white supremacy, would disappear of course, would be replaced by negroes, mulattoes and mongrels!

Such is the inevitable *end* of anti-slaveryism, if permitted to march on and complete itself in "ultimate extinction of slavery," or such the inexorable consequences of using the Federal government to carry out the theory that the negro is a black-white man, and entitled to the same liberty with ourselves. Washington and his cotemporaries founded a Republic of white men for themselves and *their* posterity; the successors of Washington have all walked in his footsteps in this respect; the Supreme Court has recently declared this vital and stupendous truth, and if now, under the madness of the times, this is departed from, and the Government distorted into a mongrel concern, including negroes, mulattoes, Indians, Chinese, and all kinds of men, and is to use its prestige, to force the States into "impartial freedom," or into the adoption of the anti-slavery theory, then it is obvious, or should be obvious to all intelligent and reflecting minds, that the

Republic of 1788 is stricken at the heart, and though the outward forms remain, the soul will have departed and it can only be a question of time when the fate of Mexico and the other mongrel Republics must become our own.

But here it may be asked, is not the South now struggling against these frightful possibilities and summoning all its powers to preserve the *statu quo*—to prevent the destruction of the existing order, and the supremacy of the white man over the negro—in short to preserve the principles on which this government was founded in 1788, and hitherto has been conducted? Doubtless this is the belief of the great mass of the southern people, who whatever may be the motives of the leaders or the individual ambitions, are impelled alone by the instinct of self-preservation, to resist the policy of a party that would bring upon them, or upon their posterity, such boundless evils as those *necessarily* wrapped up in the practicalization of the anti-slavery theories. But it is certain that, disregarding the anomaly of surrendering the government founded by their fathers, and voluntarily giving up to their enemies that “Union” whose *prestige* and power they mainly created, the leaders of the South committed a frightful blunder when they abandoned the national flag, and attempted to set up a southern Confederacy. And if their “national independence” were really acknowledged by the northern people, as well as the European powers, then their dangers would seriously begin, and the frightful possibilities that now menace them, would absolutely confront them at once.

The negro, as has been said, is a creature of the tropics, and the laws of population and industrial adaptation are

rapidly attracting him and his white guide or master into his own specific centre of existence. For seventy years these laws have been carrying him from the North to the South, from the middle States to the transition States, from the latter to the Southwest, and finally, they should take him into his permanent home within the tropics. If these laws should be interrupted, and the negro forcibly penned up permanently within his present limits, then it would only be a question of time when society itself would be destroyed; when the negro would be massacred by the whites, or the latter would abandon the country to them, or the theory of the anti-slaveryites of “impartial freedom” and universal amalgamation would needs follow; at all events, when the existing order would be demoralized and overthrown.

England has labored for seventy years to secure this result. She, and the other European powers having American possessions, have destroyed the natural order of society in the whole tropical centre of the continent, and secured “impartial freedom,” with its unavoidable consequences of amalgamation, idleness, degradation and social rottenness, to some four millions of negroes and mongrels. These mongrels and free negroes are subjects, or allies of European monarchists, and covered by the guns of France, England and Spain, a Southern Republic would be penned up forever within existing limits. Mr. Buchanan once declared that the northern Democracy was the sole friend of the South, and if the latter, in a wild moment of terror or folly, abandoned their northern friends in fear of their northern enemies, they would find the whole “civilized world” arrayed in deadly hostility against them. Indeed

they would not be able to defend themselves within these restricted limits, for their legitimate friends in the North thrust into the position of enemies, and deadly enemies in front, with their path to the tropics blocked up by some four millions of "free" negroes, the tools and allies of European monarchists, it is impossible to conceive of any people whose condition in the future would involve so many dangers, and from which no possible energy, bravery, or ability on their part could enable them to escape. Their worst enemies in the North are simply deluded by British influences, while all their pecuniary interests as well as their patriotism, prompt them to defend the social safety of their countrymen of the South, and yet we have witnessed the stupendous folly of the latter expecting aid from England, whose government has not only warred upon their peculiar institutions for seventy years past, but must continue to do so in the future, to preserve itself or its aristocratic system of class distinctions.

If the entire northern people were given up utterly to the great "anti-slavery" delusion of our times, and there was not one single northern citizen friendly to the social order of the South, there would be less danger in their enmity than in the *friendship of England*. The most injury that they could do the South would be to corrupt or steal away a few negroes every year, but as the people who would do this really hate the "free" negro themselves, and the northern people will not tolerate any considerable number of them among them, the evil would always correct itself. But the South, penned up by the free negroes and mongrels of the tropics, the allies or the subjects of European monarchists, would be more likely, in the existing

condition of opinion—to be invaded by the "free negroes" of Jamaica, Cuba, Hayti, &c., than it would extend its system in that direction. Indeed Cuba, under such circumstances, would be more likely to annex Florida than the latter would be to annex the former. While "slave grown" cotton was absolutely essential to British and European industry, the South would have a pledge of peace, but when this vital want was measurably filled otherwise, and it will be some day, there would be no mercy shown to a condition of society that underlies Democracy, and is thus in irreconcilable conflict with the principles of European monarchy. Three-fourths of the South at this moment is better suited to the labor of the white man than to the negro. The latter rapidly multiplies, the term of gestation being considerably shorter in the female than in the case of the white woman, and by its grosser organism and lower sensibility, is saved from a multitude of contingencies affecting maternity, while the care and guidance of the white master add vastly or aid materially to the final result. Thus, while only a fourth part of the territory of the South is best adapted to the industrial capacities of the negro, its increase is much more rapid, and the great want of the South, of the whole nation and of American civilization at this moment, is "slavery extension," that is, more territory suited to the negro and the expansion of this population. For example: every one may see at a glance that if the planter of Maryland or Kentucky were permitted to emigrate with his whole family, children and negroes alike, to Central America, &c., and instead of growing wheat in the former, should engage in cultivating sugar, coffee, &c., in the latter, that all

would be vastly benefited, while the lands abandoned in Maryland, resuscitated and renewed by the white laborer or German immigrant, would again become highly productive.

The increased production all round by this adaptation of labor, would greatly promote commerce, and enable the farmer on the Upper Mississippi and the mechanic of the towns to obtain their sugar and coffee at one-quarter their present prices. But if northern ignorance of this great question were enlightened, and the anti-slavery delusion wholly exploded, and the whole American people united and anxious to acquire more southern territory, to get possession of Cuba, Jamaica, or Hayti, it may be doubted if their whole combined force would be sufficient to drive back England, France and Spain, and their free negro allies in the tropics, and take possession of these territories. With the rapid increase of the negro population, and "slave" territory being the vital want of the South, how shall it fill this want, or even save itself, if separated from the great Democratic masses of the North and West. Leaving, therefore, out of view the anomaly of being faithless to the work of their fathers, the abandonment of the memories of Washington, Calhoun and Jackson, the historic suicide in fact, and disregarding all the geographical impossibilities thrust in the way of this "Southern Confederacy" or "National Independence," the simple separation from their friends in the North would place the South helplessly and at the mercy of European monarchists, the free negro allies in the tropics. An invasion of their white enemies of the North proclaiming "freedom" to the negro would be just as effective as a proclamation giving them the color of the white man,

but an invasion of an army of negroes from Jamaica, &c., led by British or French generals, appealing to the instincts of race, *might* move the whole negro population of the South. And when the British free negro policy has completed itself a few years hence, with a great negro Empire or Republic in the centre of the Continent, with Cuba as its northern outpost, British steamers may bridge the straits of Florida, and, in twenty-four hours, cast a hundred thousand negroes and negro mongrels on the mainland, who, with arms for the negroes, and arousing the instincts of race, may lay in blood and ashes the fairest portion of that "Southern Confederacy" now dreamed of at the South. Indeed, the great danger that now confronts the nation is this European hostility to further southern advance of the great Republic, a danger that England has been steadily preparing for the last fifty years, and expended five hundred millions to effect, and for the men of the South to run away from the deluded tools of England and the Democratic masses of the North, right into the very jaws of this danger, is the exact counterpart of that strange and monstrous lunacy which is striving for "impartial freedom," and to transform the Republic of Washington into a mongrel Republic. The exact thing that the South seeks to avoid by *independence*, it would bring upon itself more rapidly and certainly than northern delusion could.

British writers have corrupted and deluded the northern mind into the belief that negroes are men like ourselves, and, therefore, the social order of the South is wrong, and should be abolished; while British statesmen have actually practiced this notion, and "abolished" the natural order of society everywhere

within the tropics. If, therefore, the party in power should force the South to submit to an anti-slavery, or, rather, anti-social policy, and the whole power and *prestige* of the government should be used to bring about "impartial freedom" with their negroes, and the consequent destruction of the civilization of the South, the end would not be reached as rapidly as they would themselves work out their own destruction through a Southern Confederacy, which, in penning up their negroes, would be absolutely fatal and leave them to the tender mercies of the British free negro policy of the tropics, and even the reasonable chances of a free negro invasion. Thus the attempt of a northern party to revolutionize the government of 1787, and to mongrelize the Republic, and the attempt at a "Southern Confederacy" are alike delusions, both of which are marching in fatal directions, and both or either of which, if successful, must involve not alone the immediate welfare of the white people of America, but the future civilization of the whole continent. The northern anti-southern or anti-slavery party is striving blindly to include the negro and subject races into the ranks of citizenship, and, if it could succeed, of course it would demoralize and overthrow the only white man's government on this continent, and thus render Democratic institutions impossible, while a "Southern Confederacy," which cut itself loose from the Democratic masses of the North and West, would find itself penned up by England and four millions of free negroes in front, and thus, in its madness and folly, bring upon the southern people that very destruction which it seeks to avoid by secession from the North.

In conclusion, then, it will be apparent to all honest and patriotic minds, what-

ever Providence may have in store for us in the future, that the present generation of Americans are certain to bring upon themselves terrible and wide-spread calamities, unless they abandon the paths in which they are now so blindly marching. If they follow the lead of anti-slaveryism, and, reversing the Dred Scott decision, mongrelize the government, they will, of course, undermine and finally destroy, the Republic founded by Washington, as well as work out the ruin and desolation of southern society, and if a "Southern Confederacy" be formed, it can, under existing circumstances, only increase the chances and hasten the terrible dangers suspended over the latter.

There is, therefore, but a single straight course, the utter abandonment of political anti-slaveryism and a return to the principles of 1788—to a government of white men, made by white men for themselves and *their* posterity *forever*. With a small negro population in the North, which, under our mistaken theories, are rapidly perishing, a mongrel government, or the abstraction of "impartial freedom," is of little or no practical consequence; but to the people of the South, with four millions of negroes who are multiplying even faster than themselves, a mongrel government that admits negroes to citizenship, or into the political system, involves, of course, their utter destruction. *But with the Dred Scott decision incorporated in direct terms in the Constitution, and a government of white men thus rendered secure in the future, peace, progress, fraternity, nationality, and American civilization will be placed on foundations immovable and everlasting.* It is our destiny, doubtless, to extend our boundaries to the equator, and, perhaps, over the whole continent, and with a govern-

ment of white men we shall preserve the purity of our blood, and the unity of our nationality with the integrity of our Republican system, and save American civilization from the blight and desolation now resting on the *mongrel* Republics south of us, and which God has decreed forever, as the penalty for disregarding the distinctions and natural relations of races.

It is wholly a question of race, and "secession," "State Rights," &c., mere means or modes of defense against "anti-slavery" delusion. The South, the Supreme Court, the Democracy, and every administration, from Washington to Buchanan, have held this to be a government of white men, and negroes no part of our political society, or element in our political system. The party now in power, on the contrary, construes the Federal Constitution to include negroes as equally entitled to freedom, and it is pledged to reverse the Dred Scott decision, and secure "impartial freedom" or common citizenship for all races within Federal jurisdiction. Between these constructions of the Constitution lies the whole future of Republican institutions and American civilization. If the former prevails, if the Dred Scott decision is to be the rule, and this is to be a white government in the future as it has been in the past, and the liberty and civilization of the South are thus rendered secure *forever*, then there need be no northern armies raised to "save the Union," for the men of the South will save *such* a Union as that themselves. But if the latter construction is to prevail, if the Federal Constitution is to be construed to include negroes, if this government is to be revolutionized, and the white citizenship degraded into "impartial freedom" with the subject

races of this Continent, then all the armies in the world combined will not save such a Union as that, for the eight millions of men, women and children of the South will prefer extermination rather than amalgamation or "impartial freedom" with their negroes. And this is the question now to be decided forever: the Dred Scott decision and a government of white men, or "impartial freedom" and a mongrel Republic, with the eternal, inevitable consequences of immediate ruin of society in the South, and "ultimate extinction" of liberty and Democratic institutions in the North.

NOTE.

Something over two years have elapsed since the foregoing pages were written. Mr. Lincoln had already overthrown the Federal principle, and invaded sovereign States—States that not only had not called on him to repress insurrection as provided for in the Federal Constitution, but States in which he had not one single vote, and from the nature of things could not have a single supporter. But he had not then avowed the full designs of his party, or indeed, practically carried out his professed principles, and it was yet possible to retrace his steps, to abandon the monstrous Abolition delusion, and coming back to the plain provisions of the Constitution, restore the Federal Union, and thus prevent any further sacrifice of the blood and treasure of the country. At that time Generals McClellan and Beauregard, each with a hundred thousand Americans under their command, confronted each other on the line of the Potomac. Ninety-nine out of every hundred of these men then in arms against each other, had voted for the same candidates in the last election,

and therefore not only had no cause of quarrel, but on the contrary, were deeply and indissolubly united by principles and interests as well as by that broader and nobler sentiment of nationality common to all Americans.

Had Mr. Lincoln, therefore, instead of ordering General McClellan to advance and attack the Confederate Army, issued a proclamation, pledging himself to accept the Constitution as construed by the Supreme Court, and to administer it just as all his predecessors did, and then had withdrawn and disbanded his armies, Southern resistance would have instantly ceased, and secession, even in South Carolina, would have disappeared from the scene. Or, in other words, if, instead of ordering General McClellan to advance on Richmond, had Mr. Lincoln issued a proclamation to the people of the South, pledging himself to abandon the "principles" of his party, and to administer the Federal Government on the white basis, protecting all American citizens, both in their person and property within its jurisdiction, and removing all pressure from them by disbanding his armies, then, though he had not a vote or solitary supporter south of the Potomac, resistance would have ceased universally in the South. Finally, it is certain, that if at this juncture, Mr. Lincoln had pledged himself to administer the Constitution as construed by the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, and as including white people only within the Federal system, that then it was only necessary to disband his armies to end secession and restore peace to the country. *These propositions will not be disputed by the honest supporters of Mr. Lincoln, or by honest men anywhere, for they are absolutely and indeed undeniably true.*

But he not only refused to retrace his

steps, but advanced straight forward in the Abolition direction, and when his armies were organized and a million of men in the field, he boldly threw off the mask, removed McClellan, Buel and other moderate generals, filled their places by others committed to the anti-slavery programme, and finally issued his proclamation declaring southern society legally overthrown—the natural relation of whites and negroes abolished—the Negroes transformed into American freemen and his armies advanced to make this good, that is, to conquer the whites and make a Union with the negroes of the South!

Of course the great body of the Northern people were still deluded and believed that the war was for *the* Union, for they could not and cannot understand that the "Abolition of slavery," or Union with Negroes necessarily destroys Union with the white people of the South.

Thus the people have blindly supported Mr. Lincoln in the monstrous effort to crush eight millions of our own race and make American freemen out of five millions of naturally subject negroes. The war has lasted nearly three years and save some patches on the coast region not one foot of the original Confederate territory is now in the possession of Mr. Lincoln's army. Half of the northern laboring class have been turned into soldiers and sailors, into consumers instead of producers of wealth, and probably half of the realized wealth of the country has been destroyed. Half a million of brave young Americans have been laid in bloody graves and probably as many more, destroyed bodily or morally, will become paupers and add to the enormous public burdens, when at last lunacy gives way to returning sanity.

For all these sacrifices of life and property, we have not conquered a single foot of the original Confederate territory, and we have nothing to show for these sacrifices, save, perhaps, a quarter of a million of "freedmen," to support whom, a tax is now laid on the Northern people. Meanwhile, *the problem still remains unsolved. "Slavery" or the social subordination of negroes, cannot be destroyed until the "rebels" are crushed. We cannot have a "Union as it ought to be," with negroes, without first exterminating our white brethren of the South.* Heavens and Earth! Shall this horrible lunacy—this hideous impiety, which strives to force our brothers to equalize with their negroes, go on any longer? Shall we not stop short in this blind crusade of self-destruction? Shall we not do what Mr. Lincoln should have done two years ago? The work of restoring the Union is to be done, not at the South, but *in the North*. Abolitionism, the *cause* of secession, must be put down. The latter is only the mode or means of resistance to Abolition aggression. For forty years the leaders of the present Abolition crusade have declared that they would bring about civil war, if necessary, in order to accomplish the overthrow of the supremacy of the white race in America. Their threats are on record. Why then need any one deceive himself as to the objects and purposes for which this war was provoked? Its real design was to force a construction upon the Constitution, which, if carried out, will be one of the most gigantic revolutions that human history records. The sovereignty, citizenship or ruling power of this country has been placed in the white race. The late Senator Douglas, expressed the idea tersely and powerfully when he said: "I HOLD THAT THIS GOVERN-

MENT WAS MADE ON THE WHITE BASIS, BY WHITE MEN FOR THE BENEFIT OF WHITE MEN AND THEIR POSTERITY FOREVER." The Supreme Court has so declared it, and as such it has been administered from Washington to Buchanan. The party in power propose to reverse this—TO CHANGE THE CONSTITUTION in fact, without the consent of the people, and by military power! The practical question therefore before the people of the North is, shall we not come back to the Constitution and the Union under it! Shall we not say to the men of the South—"the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, shall be the supreme law of the Republic, and instead of making citizens or freemen of your negroes they shall be restored to their homes and this shall remain forever a Federation of brothers?" If a northern majority will say this to their brethren of the South and disband their armies, *the Union* will then be restored, of course, for the cause of disunion will be removed.

If we will not say this, then the despotism that seeks to overthrow the rights and liberties of the South must inevitably react upon the North and civil war become universal, the past being only a prelude to the bloody tragedy still to be enacted in our unfortunate country. And after this faithless generation has waded through seas of blood, we shall doubtless return substantially to the Federal Union—the White Man's Government of Washington, simply because, all things considered, it is the best that can be devised, for the peace, security and happiness of these separate and sovereign States. This being so, why, then, should we not forsake all our errors, mistakes and *sins*, and be SAVED NOW?

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OR,

RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION

IN THE

North, and the West India Islands.

WITH

STATISTICS OF THE DECAY OF COMMERCE—IDLENESS OF
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EFFECT OF EMANCIPATION UPON THE FARMING,
MECHANICAL AND LABORING CLASSES.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED.

NEW YORK:
VAN EVRIE, HORTON & CO.,
No. 162 Nassau Street,
1863.

EMANCIPATION AND ITS RESULTS.

INTRODUCTORY.

GIGANTIC efforts are now being made to convince the people of the North that the overthrow of the present relations of the black and white races in the South, or what is mistakenly called "the Abolition of Slavery," would be a great benefit to all concerned—a benefit to the white race, to the negro race, and a grand step in the progress of civilization and Christianity. Now the simple TRUTH is the exact opposite of this. To overthrow the present relation of the races is to injure both the white man and the negro, and to inflict a deadly blow upon the cause of humanity, civilization, and Christianity. We only need to approach this subject in a spirit of candid inquiry, and to bring it to the touchstone of FACT. It is proposed to show in the following pages—

First. The effects of emancipation in the Northern States in the increase of crime, pauperism, and vice among the freed negroes;

Second. Its results in the West-India Islands, where it has ruined production, destroyed commerce, and where the negro is fast relapsing into his original African savagism;

Third. The effect of Free Negroism upon the commerce, wealth, and business of the world, and especially upon the *white laboring and producing classes*, in producing a scarcity of tropical productions, and a consequent increase of price, thus allowing Negro Idleness to tax WHITE LABOR.

The inherent right or wrong of any

measure may be fairly determined by its effect. That which produces crime, pauperism, immorality, poverty, and misery can not in the nature of things be right. Theories vanish before the stern arbiter of FACTS, and to that unerring tribunal we appeal.

PART I.

FREE NEGROISM IN THE NORTH.

SOON after the close of the Revolutionary War, a few individuals, mostly Quakers, commenced efforts for the emancipation of negroes then held as so-called slaves in all the States, except Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. It was a purely philanthropic movement, and had no more connection with politics than have the various missionary societies now in existence for diffusing Christianity in Burmah or China. Several States were induced to follow the example of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, namely, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New-Hampshire, Vermont, New-York, and New-Jersey. In New-Jersey and New-York emancipation was gradual, and though provided for in the former State in 1784, and in the latter in 1799, "slavery" did not entirely disappear until 1820, '27. Here emancipation ceased, and did it ever occur to any one to inquire why, all of a sudden, this should be so? If it were a benefit to take from the negro the care and guidance of white men, why did not all the rest of the States follow the example? This question is better answered by the detail of a few facts.

It was not without grave apprehensions as to the result that emancipation had been inaugurated, and it was only nine years after Pennsylvania had set the example in 1780, that Benjamin Franklin issued an Appeal for aid to his society "to form a plan for the promotion of industry, intelligence, and morality among the free blacks." How far Franklin's benevolent scheme had fallen short of his anticipations, may be judged of from the fact that forty-seven years after Pennsylvania had passed her act of emancipation, *one third* of the convicts in her penitentiaries were negroes or mulattoes! Some of the other States were even in a worse condition, *one half* of the convicts in the penitentiary of New-Jersey being freed negroes. But Massachusetts was almost as badly off, as appears from the report of the "Boston Prison Discipline Society."

This benevolent Association included among its members, Rev. Francis Wayland, Rev. Austin Edwards, Rev. Leonard Woods, Rev. William Jenks, Rev. B. B. Wisner, Rev. Edward Beecher, Lewis Tappan, Esq., John Tappan, Esq., Hon. John Bliss, and Hon. Samuel M. Hopkins. In the First Annual Report of the Society, dated June 2d, 1826, they enter into an investigation "of the progress of crime, with the causes of it," from which we make the following extract:

DEGRADED CHARACTER OF THE COLORED POPULATION. — The first cause, existing in society, of the frequency and increase of crime is *the degraded character of the colored population*. The facts, which are gathered from the Penitentiaries, to show how great a proportion of the convicts are colored, even in those States where the colored population is small, show most strikingly the connection between ignorance and vice."

The Report proceeds to sustain its assertions by statistics, which prove, that, in Massachusetts, where the free colored people constituted *one seventy-fourth* part of the population, they supplied *one sixth* part of the convicts in her Penitentiary; that in New-York, where the free colored people

constituted *one thirty-fifth* part of the population, they supplied more than *one fourth* part of the convicts; that in Connecticut and Pennsylvania, where the colored people constituted *one thirty-fourth* part of the population, they supplied more than *one third* part of the convicts; and that in New-Jersey, where the colored people constituted *one thirteenth* part of the population, they supplied more than *one third* part of the convicts.

In the second annual report of the Society, dated June 1st, 1827, the subject is again alluded to, and tables are given, showing more fully the degraded character of the freed negro population. "The returns from the several prisons," says the report, "show that the white convicts are remaining nearly the same, or are diminishing, while the colored convicts *are increasing*. At the same time the white population is increasing in the Northern States much faster than the colored population." The following table is taken from the report:

	Whole number of Convicts.	Colored Convicts.	Proportion.
In Massachusetts, .	313	50	1 to 6
In New-York, . . .	281	101	1 to 4
In New-Jersey, . .	57	33	1 to 2

Were not these facts and statistics powerful arguments for arresting emancipation? The other States, seeing its evil effects, took the alarm. Some of them passed laws prohibiting the freed negroes from coming within them, and it began to be declared that it was much easier and less expensive to manage "slaves" than free blacks. So great was the reaction which the disastrous experiment of emancipation produced, that some of the States passed laws prohibiting emancipation, unless upon condition that the freed negroes be removed from the country. Thus the Colonization Society arose. It was argued that if the negro could not rise to any respectable condition here, it might be owing to the prejudice against his color and the social outlawry visited upon him. To place him, therefore, in a position where none of these influences could affect him, it was pro-

posed to colonize all who were freed, and, for many years, negro "philanthropy" exhausted itself in this direction. The Society was popular at one time, even at the South. It was regarded by some as the agent or means which would gradually do away with "slavery," and by others as simply an organization to get rid of the incubus of freed negroes. In 1826 the Society, by a resolution, declared itself as "not designing to interfere with slavery where it existed, nor yet as endeavoring to perpetuate its existence." This did not suit the more radical members, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, James G. Birney, Gerrit Smith, and others, who had ranked among its prominent supporters, shortly after withdrew from it. In 1833 the British Parliament passed the act for the West-India emancipation, and the result was a great impulse to the cause of anti-slavery in the United States.

But no more States could be induced to try emancipation. The advocates of emancipation formed societies, and raised the cry of "immediate abolition." They deluged Congress with petitions, and the country with tracts, pamphlets, and newspapers. Thousands and millions of pages of printed matter were sent out, but all in vain. "Moral suasion" accomplished nothing, and "slavery" not only remained as firm as ever, but it had extended and fortified itself in such a manner that the Abolitionists themselves gave up their "immediate abolition" demand in utter despair. They cried, but no one listened. They expostulated, but the public heeded them not. The freed negroes of the North were a standing monument to the folly of Abolitionism. They had not progressed, or shown themselves active, enterprising members of society. They would black boots, whitewash and do other menial offices, and they would hold conventions and pass ridiculous resolutions, but as for clearing up land and settling themselves in independent circumstances, they would not. In 1852 Gerrit Smith, who has done more for freed blacks than any

other man, for he gave all who would accept them, free homes on his lands, complained in a letter to Governor Hunt that "the most of them preferred to rot both *physically and morally* in cities, rather than become farmers or mechanics in the country." His own experiment with them resulted in signal failure. Even Horace Greeley, in a moment of apparent forgetfulness, declared in the *Tribune*, September 22d, 1855, that "nine tenths of the free blacks have no idea of setting themselves to work except as the hirelings or servitors of white men; no idea of building a church or other serious enterprise, except through beggary of the whites. *As a class, the blacks are indolent, improvident, servile and licentious.*"

We have shown what the condition of the freed negro population of the North was in 1826-27, according to the statistics of the Boston Prison Discipline Society. We will now give some figures and facts from the United States Census Report of 1850, showing the number of black and white convicts in the penitentiaries of the four States of Massachusetts, New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and the proportion of free negro convicts over the whites:

POPULATION IN 1850.				
	Mass.	N. Y.	Penn.	Ohio.
Whites,.....	985,450	3,048,325	2,258,160	1,955,050
Free Negroes,.	9,064	49,069	53,626	25,279

NUMBER IN THE PENITENTIARIES AND STATE PRISONS.				
	Mass.	N. Y.	Penn.	Ohio.
Whites,.....	389	1,350	328	362
Free Negroes,...	47	257	109	44

It will be seen from the above, that in Massachusetts there was one white convict to every 2533 of white population. In New-York there was one white convict to every 2208 of white population. In Pennsylvania one to every 6884, and in Ohio one to every 5400. But how stands the case as to the free negroes? In Massachusetts, there was one free negro convict to every 192 of the free negro population. In New-York one to every 190. In Pennsylvania one to every 492, and in Ohio one to every 574. It is instructive to note these facts. It appears that crime among the free negroes of

Massachusetts is over *eight* times greater than among the white population. Yet the negroes of Massachusetts have enjoyed the benefits of "impartial freedom" ever since 1780. It would seem, therefore, that the more you try to force white men's rights upon them, the lower and lower they sink in the scale of morality.

The freed negro population of the United States has increased from 59,466 in 1790, to 434,495 in 1850, and 481,823 in 1860. In some States it has become so large as to excite well-grounded alarm, and what is remarkable, some of the very States that have little or none of this population among them, are industriously engaged in trying to force it upon others. The six Eastern States, as is shown by the census returns of 1850—Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—have 65,440 square miles; and in 1850 they had 23,021 freed negroes in the six States. By the census taken in 1790 they had 17,042 free and slave. The State of New-York has 46,220 square miles, and had 49,069 free negroes in 1850. She has to-day, under the census of 1860, 49,031—a decrease. The six New-England States, and New-York, have 111,660 square miles, and 72,090 free negroes. *The little State of Maryland, has but 10,755 square miles; and in 1850 she had 74,723 free negroes; according to the census of 1860, she has nearly 84,000!* The State of Pennsylvania has 46,215 square miles, lying upon the northern border of the State of Maryland, only divided by an imaginary line, and she had 53,626 free negroes in 1850. Thus we see that the State of Maryland has not one fourth as many square miles as Pennsylvania, and yet Maryland has, by the census of 1860, 27,345 more free blacks than the State of Pennsylvania. The State of Delaware has, by the census of 1860, 19,723 free negroes. The District of Columbia has 11,107 free negroes, and if no slaves had been removed before the abolition of "slavery," this number would have been increased to 14,000—and this, too, in a territory less than ten miles square!

Here, then, we see the comparatively small territory comprising the States of Maryland, Delaware, and the District of Columbia, with no less than 115,000 free negroes! Set free all their "slave" negro population, which previous to the emancipation in the District of Columbia must have been about 100,000, and there would be 215,000 free negroes on 13,000 square miles, or one negro to every 2½ white persons! No people can stand such an incubus of black laziness, vice, and crime as this state of affairs would produce, to say nothing of degrading the white population to a level with the negro. It will not be, it can not be a long time before the cry, "Abolition of free negroism," will be raised in Maryland and Delaware, unless the people are deprived of all right of self-government. If allowed to go on, free negroism will yet produce a social convulsion in those States and elsewhere, to which even civil war, with all its horrors, will be but a faint parallel. Robespierre and Brissot, in 1791, tried the "impartial freedom" of Sumner and Greeley, in St. Domingo, and Alison has vividly painted the result. Speaking of the Haytien tragedy, he says: "*That negroes marched with spiked infants on their spears, instead of colors; then saved asunder the male prisoners, and violated the females on the dead bodies of their husbands.*" The mind of white persons can scarcely conceive of such infernal atrocities, and yet they are common to negroes, when perverted into what is called freedom.

From all that has been presented, then, it is easy to see that the present condition of the freed negroes of the North is of the most degraded character, and after fifty years of freedom, they are worse instead of better off. They are engaged in no *productive* employments; they furnish a large proportion of our criminals; they fill our alms-houses; and hence are a constant tax upon white labor. If their number according to the population were as great as it was when Massachusetts and Pennsylvania were complaining of the burden they cast

upon them, our people would not stand the incubus it would be upon their labor and industry. The free negroes of the North do not now, owing to the immigration and the immense white population, form an appreciable element of society. If they did, our people would demand a remedy, even to a return of these negroes to the care and protection of persons who would guarantee that they should not become public burdens. Society scarcely appreciates the burden of one negro living upon the industry of 100 whites, as in Massachusetts, but when free negroes become as numerous as in Maryland, where there is one to every *five* whites, they become an intolerable weight, and must irretrievably drag down any State that submits to it. The crimes and indolence of these people are not, however, so much to be charged to their account as to the whites, who, with sufficient intelligence to know and comprehend this race, and their duties toward it, shut their eyes from mere *party* spirit, to absolute facts, and keep on neglecting and persecuting it under the name of philanthropy. The effort to make the negro live out the life or manifest the capabilities of the white man, is like trying to force the woman to live the life of a man, or a child to exhibit the capabilities of the adult, or an ox to perform the duties of a horse! Each one of God's creatures has his specific organization and his specific life, and it is just as reasonable to expect a white man to be an angel as it is to expect a negro to be a white man; that is, to act as a white man, to think as a white man, or to work as a white man. Hence it is, as we have shown, that crime, disease, and death mark the career of Free Negroism. It destroys the negro, drags down white men, burdens them with taxes, and must inevitably end, where the number of the two races approximate, in social convulsions and a horrible and revolting war of races.

PART II.

FREE NEGROISM ELSEWHERE.

HAVING taken a brief glance at free

negroism among ourselves, we will now take a general survey of it elsewhere. Freeing the negro in temperate latitudes, where the number was limited, was a matter of no moment in its effect upon the interest of commerce or civilization. White labor, better adapted to those regions, rushed in to supply its place, and if no emancipation had occurred, the result would have been even more healthy, for the negro labor, rendered unprofitable, would have been sent southward, where it would have been productively employed in raising articles to be exchanged for the skilled labor of more northern latitudes. In order, therefore, to see the really disastrous effects of free negroism, we must turn our attention to that vast tropical territory which has been cursed with this miserable delusion. Many people, perhaps, have no idea of the vast territory, which now lies an uncultivated waste, solely from the effects of removing the negro from the control of the superior race. The entire continent of North and South-America, from the Rio Grande on the North to Brazil on the South, is to-day, little more than a desert waste. But this is not all. Those beautiful and fertile islands—the West-Indies—with the exception of Cuba and Porto Rico, are in the same condition. Let us see how much land is thus lying unproductive and neglected.

The number of square miles in the territory to which we have alluded, is as follows:

	Square miles.
Mexico,.....	829,916
Central America,.....	153,770
Venezuela,.....	426,712
New-Granada,.....	521,948
Ecuador,.....	287,638
British Guiana,.....	96,000
Dutch Guiana,.....	59,765
French Guiana,.....	22,500
West-India Islands,.....	150,000
Total,.....	2,550,249

The United States and Territories comprise an area of 2,946,166 square miles, so that here is an extent of territory nearly equal to the entire length and breadth of our country, which, with here and there an exception, lies

an unproductive waste. If the curse of God had rested upon it, and, like the Cities of the Plain, it had been covered with a bituminous lake, its condition would not be materially different. But, instead of that, the Creator made it originally the most glorious land the sun ever shone upon. Perpetual summer reigns, and the fertility of the soil is as exhaustless as the sea. The variety and extent of its productions are almost unbounded, but, as God said before he made Adam, "Lo! there is no one to till the ground." The negro freed, basks in idleness, and only performs just sufficient labor to keep life in his body. The earth, however, is so rich in spontaneous productions, that the labor which necessity requires, is comparatively none; and hence the negro indulges his constitutional complaint of laziness to its full extent. It would require more space than we have at our disposal to give a review of the decrepitude and decay of the vast extent of territory from the Rio Grande to the Amazon. But a brief extract from Prof. Holton's work on *New-Granada*,* will give an indication of it. Speaking of the Valley of the Cauca, in that country, he says:

"What more could nature do for this people, or what has she withholden from them? What production of any zone would be unattainable by patient industry, *if they knew of such a virtue?* But their valley seems to be enriched with the greatest fertility and the finest climate in the world, only to show the *miraculous power of idleness* and unthrift to keep land poor. Here the family have sometimes *omitted their dinner, just because there was nothing to eat in the house!* Maize, cocoa, and rice, when out of season, can hardly be had for love or money; so this valley, a very Eden by nature, is filled with *hunger and poverty.*"

Now there are over 2,000,000 of square miles essentially in the same position—the inhabitants, degraded in

morals, lazy in habits, and worthless in every respect. The improvements under the Spaniards are gone to decay and ruin, while the mongrel population do nothing except insult the name of "God and Liberty" by indulging in pronunciamentos and revolutions!

THE WEST-INDIA ISLANDS.

From these Islands, where emancipation was inaugurated as an example for us to follow, we propose to draw our principal illustrations of the failure of free negroism. This is the more important, because the abolitionists still endeavor to cling to the delusion that it has been a success. The West-India Islands comprise, it is estimated, in all about 150,000 square miles, or an extent of territory as large as the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Some of the smaller islands are uninhabited, but those inhabited, and more or less under cultivation, have an area, as stated in Colton's Atlas, of 96,000 square miles. Cuba takes off 42,000 square miles, leaving 54,000 in Hayti and the British and French Islands. When emancipation took place in Jamaica, in 1834, it was loudly heralded that free labor in the West-Indies would soon render "slavery" entirely unprofitable in the United States. Mr. Birney encouraged his followers with this hope, and William Lloyd Garrison even made the confident prediction that the "American slave system must inevitably perish from starvation." George Thompson, the English Abolitionist, who came over to this country about that time to fan the flame of anti-Southern agitation, declared that "soon all slave labor cotton would be repudiated by the English manufacturers." The labor of free negroes was to accomplish all this, for it was presumed that freedom would give an impetus to production, and that the enterprise and industry of the freed black men would soon far outstrip the resources of those countries where "the unprofitable and expensive system of slave labor" was still adhered to. The millennium was thus, in 1833, but just a step ahead of the Abolitionists. They had almost

* New-Granada: Twenty Months in the Andes. By Isaac F. Holton, M.A. Harper & Brothers.

clutched the El Dorado of negro perfection. But alas! for their confident anticipations and positive predictions. In six years the answer came, and it was as follows: In 1800 the West-Indies exported 17,000,000 lbs. of cotton and the United States 17,789,803 lbs. They were thus at this time about equally productive. In 1840 the West-Indies exported only 866,157 lbs. of cotton, while the United States exported 743,941,061 lbs.! Instead, therefore, of the "American system dying of starvation," as Garrison predicted, or of the British spinners refusing to use "slave" grown cotton, England went right on manufacturing "slave" grown cotton, while her "philanthropists," to keep up the delusion, began to talk about raising cotton in Africa, by free-negro labor there, and they have kept on *talking* about it, and all the while *using* the productions of "slave" labor. But, in order to give the reader a fuller and more complete view of the terrible blow the industrial resources of the world have received by emancipation in the West-India Islands, we propose to take up a few of the more important Islands, and notice their decline with some minuteness. As it was the first to try "impartial freedom," we commence with

HAYTI.

This island is divided into two parts — the western portion being Hayti proper, and the eastern forming the Dominican Republic. It is next in size to Cuba, and is regarded as the most fertile of the Antilles. The entire island is 406 miles in length by a maximum width of 163. The number of square miles is 27,690, of which 10,091 are comprised in the Haytien or negro Republic, and the balance in the Dominican. It is very difficult to arrive at the exact population of Hayti, as no definite statistics exist, but it is variously estimated at from 550,000 to 650,000. The climate, natural productions and fertility of its soil are not surpassed by any other portion of the known world. Gold, silver, platina, mercury, copper, iron, tin, sulphur,

rock-salt, jasper, marble, etc., etc., are found among its mineral productions. The gold-mines have long since been abandoned, as has every employment requiring laborious industry. The climate is warm, but on account of the sea-breezes, generally agreeable and pleasant, even during the summer heats. Vegetation is of the richest and most luxuriant kind.

"It is extremely difficult," says a traveler, "to convey to one unacquainted with the richness and variety of the island scenery of the tropics, a correct impression of its gorgeous beauty. Islands rising from a crystal sea, clothed with a vegetation of surpassing luxuriance and splendor, and of every variety, from the tall and graceful palm, the stately and spreading mahogany, to the bright flowers that seem to have stolen their tints from the glowing sun above them. Birds, with colors as varied and gorgeous as the hues of the rainbow, flit amid the dark green foliage of the forests, and flamingoes, with their scarlet plumage, flash along the shore. Fish of the same varied hues glide through waters so clear that for fathoms below the surface they can be distinctly seen. Turn the eye where it will, on sea or land, some bright color flashes before it. Nature is here a queen indeed, and dressed for a gala day.

"In the island of St. Domingo, the rich beauty of the tropics is combined with some of the finest mountain scenery in the world. The broad, fertile lagoons, covered with groves of orange, citron, and coffee, with here and there a delicate column of smoke indicating the locality of some invisible dwelling; groves of mangroves, rising apparently from the midst of the waters, but indicating the presence of dangerous shallows, gradually become visible. No rough promontory, as upon our northern shores, meets the eye; every angle is delicately rounded, every feature of the scenery undulating and graceful."

To this surpassing beauty is added almost all the natural productions that can be conceived. The mountains are covered with forests of pine, mahog-

any, fustic, satin-wood, lignum vitæ, and other cabinet woods. All the usual tropical productions grow spontaneously in great abundance, including plantains, bananas, yams, maize, millet, oranges, pine-apples, melons, grapes, etc. The staples of cultivation are coffee, cocoa, sugar, indigo, cotton, and tobacco. Surely, such a country as this has been peculiarly blessed by the Creator, and it seems nothing less than a crime against nature to allow its exhaustless resources to remain undeveloped. But what is its history?

In 1790 Hayti was in a high state of prosperity. At that time it supplied half of Europe with sugar. It was a French colony, and contained a population which numbered about 500,000, of which 38,360 were whites, and 28,370 free negroes, mostly mulattoes. The remainder were negro "slaves." The period of which we speak was the era of the great French Revolution, when doctrines of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" had full sway in France. The colonists or white people of Hayti entered with great fervor into the support of these doctrines, but they intended them to apply to white men, and *white men only*. But this did not suit the pleasure of the "Mountain Department" of the French Assembly. That demanded "impartial freedom," and "impartial freedom" it was. In 1793 the freedom of the blacks in Hayti was decreed, and the grand experiment of "impartial freedom" commenced. The result of that experiment is now, after seventy years' trial, before the world. If the negro has any capacity for self-government, any of the inherent, natural abilities or energies of the white man, surely he ought to have shown them during this time. With a country whose natural resources and fertility are beyond question, and with a climate exactly suited to the physical peculiarities of the race, surely there should have been no such word as fail. The island had been brought to a high state of cultivation, and to an exalted commercial prosperity by the French planters. It was turned over to its new masters

like a garden ready cultivated, and all they had to do was to keep it as it was, and go on in the career of prosperity which had been so successfully inaugurated. But what are the facts? A few statistics will show, more vividly than words, how fearfully the island has retrograded and how fallacious are all the hopes which have been indulged in, as to the industry of negroes, when left to themselves. In 1790 the value of the exports of Hayti were \$27,828,000, the principal productions being as follows:

Sugar, lbs.,.....	163,405,220
Coffee, ".....	68,151,180
Cotton, ".....	6,286,126
Indigo, ".....	930,016

In 1826, about thirty years after emancipation, the figures stood thus:

Sugar, lbs.,.....	32,864
Coffee, ".....	32,189,784
Cotton, ".....	620,972
Indigo, ".....	none.

Now there is no sugar at all exported, while coffee and logwood have become the principal items of export. The former is gathered wild from the mountains, or from the old abandoned French plantations, while all that is required in order to get the latter is to cut down the tree, which grows spontaneously, and take it to market. It is, therefore, seen that all *cultivation* is abandoned, and only those articles are now exported which require no labor to produce them. In 1849, the latest date of which we have any reliable statistics, and sixty years after emancipation, the exports of the articles we have named were as follows:

Sugar, lbs.,.....	none.
Coffee, ".....	30,608,343
Cotton, ".....	544,516
Indigo, ".....	none.

It is impossible to state, with accuracy, what the present value of the exports of Hayti amount to. Mr. Sumner, in a recent speech in the Senate, placed them at \$2,673,000. This, we apprehend, is just about double the real value. A recent traveler, Mr. Underhill, says he could find *no statistics* in Hayti as to her commerce, and Mr. Sumner's figures are, doubtless, mere guess-work. But grant what Mr.

Sumner says, and what a doleful picture of commercial ruin it presents! In 1790, the exports of Hayti amounted to \$27,828,000, and now, according even to abolition testimony, they foot up only \$2,683,000! Comment is unnecessary.

The statistics we have quoted are taken from the *U. S. Commercial Relations*," Vol. I. pp. 561-2, officially reported to Congress, and published by order of that body. But all these figures are fully corroborated by every candid and impartial traveler. A foreign resident at the capital of Hayti, under a recent date, writes:

"This country has made, since its emancipation, no progress whatever. The population partially live upon the produce of the grown wild coffee plantations, remnants of the French dominion. Properly speaking, plantations after the model of the English in Jamaica or the Spanish in Cuba, do not exist here. Hayti is the most beautiful and the most fertile of the Antilles. It has more mountains than Cuba, and more space than Jamaica. Nowhere the coffee-tree could better thrive than here, as it especially likes a mountainous soil. But the *indolence of the negro has brought the once splendid plantations to decay*. They now gather coffee *only from the grown wild trees*. The cultivation of the sugarcane has *entirely disappeared*, and the island that once supplied the one half of Europe with sugar now supplies its own wants from Jamaica and the United States."

In order to show the present condition of Hayti more fully, we quote from a work just published in London, entitled *The West-Indies—their Moral and Social Condition*. The author, Mr. E. B. Underhill, was sent out by the Baptist Missionary Society of London, and is an abolitionist of the deepest dye. While finding all the excuses he can for the decay of the island, he is forced to own the truth. He describes his journey to Port au Prince as follows:

"We passed by many or through many *abandoned plantations, the buildings in ruin, the sugar-mills de-*

cayed, and the iron pans strewn the roadside, cracked and broken. But for the law that forbids, on pain of confiscation, the export of all metals, they would long ago have been sold to foreign merchants.

"Only once in this long ride did we come upon a mill in use; it was grinding canes, in order to manufacture the syrup from which *tafia* is made, a kind of inferior rum, the intoxicating drink of the country. The mill was worked by a large over-shot or water-wheel, the water being brought by an aqueduct from a very considerable distance. With the exception of a few banana-gardens, or small patches of maize round the cottages, nowhere did this magnificent and fertile plain show signs of cultivation.

"In the time of the French occupation before the Revolution of 1793, thousands of hogsheads of sugar were produced; *now, not one. All is decay and desolation*. The pastures are deserted, and the prickly pear covers the land once laughing with the bright hues of the sugar-cane.

"The hydraulic works, erected at vast expense for irrigation, *have crumbled to dust. The plow is an unknown implement of culture*, although so eminently adapted to the great plains and deep soil of Hayti.

"A country so capable of producing for export, and therefore for the enrichment of its people—besides sugar, and coffee, cotton, tobacco, the cacao bean, spices, every tropical fruit, and many of the fruits of Europe—*lies uncultivated, unoccupied, and desolate*. Its rich mines are neither explored nor worked; and its beautiful woods rot in the soil where they grow. A little logwood is exported, but ebony, mahogany, and the finest building timber rarely fall before the woodman's ax, and then only for local use. The present inhabitants despise *all servile labor*, and are, for the most part, content with *the spontaneous productions of the soil and forest*."

The degraded, barbarous condition of the negroes of Hayti is well illustrated in a description given by Mr. Underhill, of what is known as "the

religion of Vaudoux, or serpent-worship." It is a native African superstition, and proves, beyond all question, the rapid return of the Hayti negroes to the original savagism of their African ancestors. Mr. U. gives a full description of the ceremonies of this heathenish rite, as described to him by one of the resident missionaries, which we regret we have not space to give entire. The performances are preceded by the following barbaric chorus!

"Eh! eh! Bomba, hen! hen!
Canga bafia te
Canga mourne de le
Canga de ki li
Canga li."

The object worshiped is a small green snake, and the custom is a purely African heathenism. The negro always has a predisposition to it, but it is repressed when he is under white control. Of late years it has been revived extensively in Hayti.

"The Vaudoux," says Mr. Underhill, "meet in a retired spot, designated at a previous meeting. On entering they take off their shoes, and bind about their bodies handkerchiefs, in which a red color predominates. The king is known by the scarlet band around his head, worn like a crown, and a scarf of the same color distinguishes the queen. The object of adoration, the serpent, is placed on a stand. It is then worshiped; after which the box is placed on the ground, the queen mounts upon it, is seized with violent tremblings, and gives utterance to oracles in response to the prayers of the worshipers. A dance closes the ceremony. The king puts his hand on the serpent's box; a tremor seizes him, which is communicated to the circle. A delirious whirl or dance ensues, heightened by the free use of tafia. The weakest fall, as if dead, upon the spot. The bacchanalian revelers, always dancing and turning about, are borne away into a place near at hand, where sometimes, under the triple excitement of *promiscuous intercourse*, drunkenness and darkness, scenes are enacted, enough to make

the impassible gods of Africa itself gnash their teeth with horror."

What a disgusting picture of savagism and heathenism does not this present! And yet, there are people who try to palm off upon the world the idea that negroes can remain civilized when left to themselves. This same missionary, Mr. Webley, writing to the London *Missionary Herald*, in 1850, says: "These Vaudoux almost deluge the Haytien part of the Island. They practice witchcraft and mysticism to an almost indefinite extent. They are singular adepts at *poisoning*. A person rarely escapes them when he has been fixed upon as a victim." It is thus seen that Obeism is quite as prevalent in Hayti as it is in the interior of Africa. What more need be said to prove the relapse of these negroes into their original barbarism? Such, then, is the condition of Hayti. Production gone, commerce gone, and the negroes themselves returning to their original African heathenism!

JAMAICA.

Jamaica is about 150 miles long by about 50 in width. Its area is about 6400 square miles, or 4,000,000 of acres. It is the largest and most valuable of the British West-India Islands. The last census taken was in 1844, when the population stood as follows: Whites, 15,779; negroes, 293,128; mulattoes, 68,529. By the census of 1861, the only one taken since, the population is stated as follows: whites, 13,816; mulattoes, 81,065; negroes, 346,374. The whole number of persons who can read is set down at 80,724, and 50,726 as able to read and write. It will be seen from this that over 300,000 can neither read nor write. The education is evidently confined to the whites and mulattoes, leaving the negroes in their natural ignorance, where they have neither oral nor any other instruction. Of course "educated" negroes are simply monstrosities, but as some people seem to suppose that "freedom" will develop such "white crows," we have cited these statistics to show that Ja

maica has not yet produced them, after a twenty-five years' trial. The white population, it will also be seen, is gradually decreasing — dying out — through the blood of the negro.

The productions of Jamaica are similar to those of the other West-India Islands. The soil is deep and fertile, and one of the best in the world for the production of sugar, coffee, pimento, and ginger. It is also rich in minerals, cabinet-woods, etc., and the low grounds yield abundantly the plantain, banana, yam, sweet potatoes, pine-apples, oranges, pomegranates, etc., etc. Jamaica has been in possession of England ever since the days of Oliver Cromwell, and at the time of the prohibition of the importation of negroes from Africa in 1807, was in a most flourishing condition. Her history, since then, has been one of gradual but sure decay. The restriction upon her supply of labor produced some decrease in her productions, and the abolition of "slavery" in 1833 hastened the final destruction of the island. The negroes freed in 1833 were to serve five years as apprentices, and on the first of August, 1838, to have their unconditional liberty. For this injury to the negro, and crime toward the white man, the planters were allowed about \$30,000,000, the whole sum expended in all the islands, by the British government, being about \$100,000,000. And what is the result? Facts speak louder than words, and to them we appeal. The value of the exports of Jamaica, (we quote from the *Cyclopedia of Commerce*, published by Harper and Brothers, of this city,) before and after the emancipation, will illustrate what we say:

BEFORE EMANCIPATION.

Years.	Value of Exports.
1809	£3,033,234
1810	2,303,579

AFTER EMANCIPATION.

1853	£837,276
1854	932,316

The productions of Jamaica show, forcibly, what the above figures exhibit by values. In 1805, two years before the prohibition of African emi-

gration, the productions of Jamaica were as follows:

PRODUCTS OF JAMAICA IN 1805.

Sugar,.....	150,352 hhds.
Rum,.....	46,837 punch.
Pimento,.....	1,041,540 lbs.
Coffee,.....	17,961,923 lbs.

The production of the island, at that time, was at its highest point. The sugar was the largest crop ever produced in Jamaica. The loss of labor was severely felt, especially in the sugar-culture, so that in 1834, the year emancipation was effected, the production stood as follows:

PRODUCTS OF JAMAICA IN 1834.

Sugar,.....	84,756 hhds.
Rum,.....	32,111 punch.
Pimento,.....	3,605,400 lbs.
Coffee,.....	17,725,731 lbs.

In the very next year, the first one under free negroism, there was a manifest falling off. The sugar production was only 77,970 hhds., nearly 10,000 hhds. less; coffee was only 10,593,018 lbs., a decrease of over 7,000,000 lbs., and this decrease has steadily continued, until in 1856 the production of Jamaica stood as follows:

PRODUCTS OF JAMAICA IN 1856.

Sugar,.....	25,920 hhds.
Rum,.....	14,470 punch.
Pimento,.....	6,848,622 lbs.
Coffee,.....	3,328,147 lbs.

The only crop that had increased was that of pimento, or allspice, the increase of which, instead of being an evidence of the industry of the negro, is the reverse. The pimento-tree grows wild in Jamaica, and rapidly spreads over land formerly under cultivation. As the plantations were abandoned, they were overrun with this tree, and the negro women and children picked the berries without the trouble of cultivation. The coffee-tree, to a certain extent, is like the pimento, and grows wild in many places. Hence the production of coffee has not fallen off in the same proportion as that of sugar, which can only be produced by careful cultivation. The coffee crop of Jamaica, however, was in 1813, before the overthrow of "slave" labor, 34,045,

585 lbs., but the average crop for the past ten years has not been over 5,000,000 lbs., while the sugar crop had fallen in 1853 as low as 20,000 hhds.! These facts and statistics demonstrate the down-hill progress of Jamaica, and show what may be expected wherever the experiment of free negroism is attempted.

The rapidity with which estates have been abandoned in Jamaica, and the decrease in the taxable property of the island, is also astounding. The movable and immovable property of Jamaica was once estimated at £50,000,000, or nearly \$250,000,000. In 1850 the assessed valuation had fallen to £11,500,000. In 1851 it was reduced to £9,500,000, and Mr. Westmoreland, in a speech in the Jamaica House of Assembly, stated it was believed, that the falling off would be £2,000,000 more in 1852. From a report made to the House of Assembly of the number and extent of the plantations abandoned during the years 1848, '49, '50, '51 and '52, we gather the following facts:

Sugar-estates abandoned,	128
" partially abandoned, . .	71
Coffee-plantations abandoned, . . .	96
" partially abandoned, .	66

The total number of acres thus thrown out of cultivation in five years was 391,187! This is only a sample, for the same process has been going on ever since emancipation. In the five years immediately succeeding emancipation, the abandoned estates stood as follows:

Sugar-estates, 140,	168,032 acres.
Coffee-plantations, 465,	188,400 "

These plantations employed 49,383 laborers, whose industry was, therefore, at once lost to the world, and the articles they had raised were just so much subtracted from consumption. The price of these articles, sugar and coffee, was increased on account of the diminished production, and that increased cost represented the tax which the world paid for the privilege of allowing Sambo to loll in idleness. The *Cyclopædia of Commerce* says, "that the negro is rapidly reced-

ing into a savage state, and that unless there is a large and immediate supply of immigrants, *all society will come to a speedy end*, and the island become a second Hayti."

Such, then, is the condition of Jamaica, as stated in an impartial work. Let us hear now what the London *Times* candidly owns up to. It says:

"There is *no blinking the truth*. Years of bitter experience, years of hope deferred, of self-devotion unrequited, of prayers unanswered, of sufferings derided, of insults unresented, of contumely patiently endured, have convinced us of the truth. It must be spoken out loudly and energetically, despite the wild mockings of 'howling cant.' *The freed West-India slave will not till the soil for wages*; the free son of the ex-slave is as obstinate as his sire. He will not cultivate lands which he has not bought for his own. Yams, mangoes and plantains—these satisfy his wants; he cares not for yours. Cotton, sugar, coffee and tobacco he cares but little for. And what matters it to him that the Englishman has sunk his thousands and tens of thousands on mills, machinery and plants, which now totter on the languishing estate that for years has only returned him beggary and debt? He eats his yams and sniggers at 'Buckra.' We know not why this should be, but so it is. The negro has been bought with a price—the price of English *taxation* and English *toil*. He has been redeemed from bondage *by the sweat and travail of some millions of hard-working Englishmen*. Twenty millions of pounds sterling—one hundred millions of dollars—have been *distilled from the brains and muscles of the free English laborer*, of every degree, to fashion the West-India negro into a 'free, independent laborer.' 'Free and independent' enough he has become, God knows, but laborer he *is not*; and, so far as we can see, *never will be*. He will sing hymns and quote texts, but honest, steady industry he not only detests but *despises*."

Such is the testimony of the London *Times*—such the universal evi-

dence of every candid individual. How different is this picture from that predicted by the Abolitionists! The Rev. Dr. Channing, the Dr. Cheever of that day, made the following prophecy in 1833, as the result of emancipation:

"The planters, in general, would suffer little, if at all, from emancipation. This change would make them *richer* rather than poorer. One would think, indeed, from the common language on the subject, that the negroes were to be annihilated by being set free; that the whole labor of the South was to be destroyed by a single blow. But the colored man, when freed, will not vanish from the soil. He will stand there with the same muscles as before, only strung anew by liberty; with the same limbs to toil, and with *stronger motives* to toil than before. He will work from *hope*, not fear; will work for himself, not for others; and unless all the principles of human nature are reversed under a black skin, he will work *better than before*. We believe that agriculture will revive, our worn-out soils will be renewed, and the whole country assume a brighter aspect under *free labor*."

This is the same story the Abolitionists are singing now, not having yet learned that "the principles of human nature are reversed under a black skin"—that is, of *white* human nature, and it was from a total misconception of the negro that Dr. Channing fell into his grand mistake. Mr. Anthony Trollope, an Englishman, and an anti-slavery man, who has written a book on Jamaica, seems to know rather more of the negro race than Dr. Channing did. The *London Times*, drawing its facts from Mr. Trollope, says of it:

"A servile race, peculiarly fitted by nature for the hardest physical work in a burning climate. The negro has no desire for property strong enough to induce him to labor with sustained power. He lives from hand to mouth. In order that he may have his dinner and some small finery, he will work a little, but after that he is content to lie

in the sun. This in Jamaica he can very easily do, for emancipation and free trade have combined to throw enormous tracts of land out of cultivation, and on these the negro squats, getting all that he wants with very little trouble, and sinking, in the most resolute fashion, to the savage state. Lying under his cotton-tree, he refuses to work after ten o'clock in the morning. 'No, tankee, massa, me tired now; me no want more money.' Or, by the way of variety, he may say: 'No, workee no more; money no nuff; workee no pay.' And so the planter must see his canes foul with weeds, because he can not prevail on Sambo to earn a second shilling by going into the cane-fields. He calls him a lazy nigger, and threatens him with starvation. His answer is: 'No, massa; no starve now; God send plenty yam.' These yams, be it observed, on which Sambo lives, and on the strength of which he declines to work, are grown on the planter's own ground, and probably planted at his own expense.

"There lies the shiny, oily, odorous negro under his mango-tree, eating the luscious fruit in the sun. He sends his black urchin up for a bread-fruit, and, behold, the family table is spread. He pierces a cocoa-nut, and lo! there is his beverage. He lies on the ground, surrounded by oranges, bananas, and pine-apples. Why should he work? Let Sambo himself reply: 'No, massa, me weak in me belly; me no workee to-day: me no like workee just um little moment.'"

This is a graphic description of the negro character, where the climate gives him a chance to show out his real nature. The same author says that "one half of the sugar-estates, and *more than one half* of the coffee-plantations have gone back into a state of *bush*."

The idea of working for pay never entered in black nature. As long ago as Mungo Park traveled in Africa, he discovered that "paid servants, persons of free condition, voluntarily working for pay, *are unknown here*." No traveler in Africa, down to Dr.

Livingstone, has reversed that judgment.

In Lewis's West-Indies, written 17 years before emancipation, it is remarked: "As to free blacks, they are unfortunately lazy and improvident; most of them half-starved, and only anxious to live from hand to mouth. Even those who profess to be tailors, carpenters, or coopers are, for the most part, careless, drunken and dissipated, and never take pains sufficient to attain to any dexterity in their trades! *As for a free negro hiring himself out for plantation labor, no instance of such a thing was ever known in Jamaica.*" Earl Grey said, in the House of Lords, on June 10th, 1852, "that it was established by statistical facts that the negroes were *idle, and falling back in civilization; that, relieved from the coercion to which they were formerly subjected, and a couple of days' labor giving them enough food for a fortnight, the climate rendering clothing and fuel not necessary to life, they had no earthly motive to give a greater amount of service than for mere subsistence.*" Sir H. Light and Gov. Barkley have both shown, also, that the majority of the free negroes of the West-Indies are living in idleness, and the French colonies, according to a work from M. Vacherot, published a few years ago at Paris, demonstrate the same ruinous result under their emancipation act.

Captain Hamilton, on his examination as a witness, before a select committee of Parliament, stated that "*Jamaica, without any exaggeration, had become a desert.*"

In 1850 Mr. John Bigelow, then one of the editors of the New-York *Evening Post*, paid a visit to Jamaica, and wrote a book thereon. As the testimony of an anti-slavery man his statements are given. Mr. Bigelow says that the land of that island is as prolific as any in the world. It can be bought for \$5 to \$10 per acre, and five acres confer the right of voting and eligibility to public offices. Planters offer \$1.50 per day for labor; 16

days' labor will enable a negro to buy land enough to make him a voter, and the market of Kingston offers a great demand for vegetables at all times. These facts, said Mr. Bigelow, place independence within the reach of every black. But what are the results? There has been no increase in voters in 20 years. Lands run wild. Kingston gets its vegetables from the United States.

But we will accumulate proof—pile it up, if needed. Mr. Robert Baird, who is an enthusiastic advocate of "the glorious Act of British Emancipation," on visiting the West-Indies for his health, could not fail to be struck with the desolate appearance there.

"That the West-Indians," says Mr. Baird, "are always grumbling, is an observation often heard, and, no doubt, it is very true that they are so. But let any one who thinks that the extent and clamor of the complaint exceeds the magnitude of the distress which has called it forth, go to the West-Indies and judge for himself. Let him see with his own eyes THE NEGLECTED AND ABANDONED ESTATES—THE UNCULTIVATED FIELDS, FAST HURRYING BACK INTO A STATE OF NATURE, WITH ALL THE SPEED OF TROPICAL LUXURIANCE—THE DISMANTLED AND SILENT MACHINERY, THE CRUMBLING WALLS, AND DESERTED MANSIONS, WHICH ARE FAMILIAR SIGHTS IN MOST OF THE BRITISH WEST-INDIAN COLONIES. Let him then transport himself to the Spanish Islands of Porto Rico and Cuba, and witness the life and activity which in these slave colonies prevail. Let him observe for himself the activity of the slaves—the improvements daily making in the cultivation of the fields, and in the processes carried on at the Ingenio or sugar-mills—and *the general, indescribable air of thriving and prosperity which surround the whole*—and then let him come back to England and say, if he honestly can, that the British West-Indian planters and proprietors are grumblers, who complain without adequate cause."

Ex Governor Wood, of Ohio, who paid a visit to Jamaica in 1853, and who is no friend to "slavery," says :

"Since the blacks have been liberated, they have become indolent, insolent, degraded and dishonest. They are a rude, beastly set of vagabonds, lying naked about the streets, as filthy as the Hottentots, and I believe worse. On getting to the wharf of Kingston, the first thing the blacks of *both sexes, perfectly naked*, come swarming about the boat, and would dive for small pieces of coin that were thrown by the passengers. On entering the city the stranger is annoyed to death by black beggars at every step, and you must often show him your pistol or an uplifted cane to rid yourself of their importunities."

Sewell, in his work on the *Ordeal of Free Labor*, in which he defends emancipation, and pleads for still more extended privileges to the blacks, says of Kingston :

"There is not a house in decent repair ; not a wharf in good order ; no pavement, no sidewalk, no drainages, and scanty water ; no light. There is nothing like work done. Wreck and ruin, destitution and neglect. The inhabitants, taken *en masse*, are steeped to the eyelids in immorality. The population shows unnatural decrease. Illegitimacy exceeds legitimacy. Nothing is replaced that time destroys. If a brick tumbles from a house to the street, it remains there. If a spout is loosened by the wind, it hangs by a thread till it falls ; if furniture is accidentally broken, the idea of having it mended is not entertained. A God-forsaken place, without life or energy, old, dilapidated, sickly, filthy, cast away from the anchorage of sound morality, of reason and of common-sense. Yet this wretched hulk is the capital of an island the most fertile in the world. It is blessed with a climate the most glorious ; it lies rotting in the shadow of mountains that can be cultivated from summit to base with every product of tropic and temperate region. It is the mistress of a harbor wherein a

thousand line-of-battle ships can ride safely at anchor."

We might fill a volume with such quotations, showing the steady decline of the Island. But it is well to note the moral condition of the negro. The *American Missionary Association* is the strongest kind of Abolition testimony in regard to the moral condition of the negroes. The *American Missionary*, a monthly paper, and organ of the Association, for July, 1855, has the following quotation from the letters of one of the missionaries :

"*A man here may be a drunkard, a liar, a Sabbath-breaker, a profane man, a fornicator, an adulterer, and such like—and be known to be such—and go to chapel and hold up his head there, and feel no disgrace from these things*, because they are so common as to create a public sentiment in his favor. He may go to the communion-table, and cherish a hope of heaven, and not have his hope disturbed. I might tell of persons, guilty of some, if not all of these things, ministering in holy things."

The Report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for 1853, p. 170, says of the negroes :

"Their moral condition is very far from being what it ought to be. It is exceedingly dark and distressing. *Li-centiousness prevails to a most alarming extent among the people.* . . . The almost universal prevalence of intemperance is another prolific source of the moral darkness and degradation of the people. The great mass among all classes of the inhabitants, from the governor in his palace to the peasant in his hut — from the bishop in his gown to the beggar in his rags — are *all slaves to their cups.*"

So much for "freedom" elevating the blacks. It is complained that the marriage relation is not always regarded where "slavery" exists, but it would seem, from this statement, that "slavery" had done more for the moral improvement of the negro, in this respect, than he was at all disposed to do for himself.

Mr. Underhill indorses the stories

"of the crowds of bastard children" in the Island, and says it is "too true." "Outside the nonconformist communities," he says, "neglect of marriage is *almost universal*. One clergyman informed me that of seventeen infants brought to his church for baptism, *fifteen*, at least, would be of illegitimate origin." In fact, from all the admissions made, it does not appear that there is any more marriage in Jamaica than in Africa. The churches, Mr. Underhill allows, are less attended than formerly, and there is evidently little of the religious training of the whites left among the people. The negro, however, has all the advantages of "impartial freedom," and "the highest offices of the state are open to colored men. They are found," says Mr. U., "in the Assembly, in the executive, on the bench and at the bar. All colors mix freely. This would be the paradise for Seward, Phillips and Greeley. Mr. Underhill estimates the annual loss of wages to the people, from the decay of estates and plantations, can not be less than £300,000, or nearly \$1,500,000! Negroes who work at all can not be prevailed upon to do so, generally, more than four days in the week, and rarely five. Mr. U. also states that it has been officially ascertained that *two thirds* of the persons employed on sugar-estates are *women and children*. Yet, notwithstanding all these facts, the anti-slaveryite still adheres to his favorite hobby. He has excuses and palliatives for his friend, the negro. True, Jamaica is ruined, but still emancipation is a success. The seasons are poor, the estates were mortgaged, the planters have not treated the blacks kindly, and they have bought patches of ground of their own rather than labor for others. Such are some of the excuses of the friends of Sambo. But the facts still stand out in bold relief, despite the assertion of "negro missionaries," who are interested in keeping up the delusion. The *facts* they do admit. They can not deny or controvert them. This is all we ask—we need none of their excuses. In order to relieve themselves of the

odium of having ruined the fairest Island of the Antilles, they will naturally look for reasons not chargeable to them. But figures do not lie. The exports of Jamaica have been gradually decreasing ever since "slavery" in the Island was interfered with, until they have dwindled down to insignificance, and, as the London *Times* says, "there is no blinking the truth—the negroes will not work for wages," and hence the tropics are going back to jungle and bush, while white men are taxed double the price they ought to be for all tropical products.

THE OTHER ISLANDS.

The careful survey we have taken of the condition of Jamaica, derived both from official statistics and the evidences of anti-slavery men, render it almost unnecessary to notice the remaining islands, where emancipation has been carried out. The story of Jamaica is the story of all. We will, however, briefly notice the condition of Trinidad and Barbadoes, for these islands are often held up by the discomfited Abolitionists as an evidence of the success of emancipation. Again we will take their own evidence to vanquish them. Trinidad contains 2020 square miles. Her soil is as fertile as any of the islands, and if production has somewhat increased within the past few years, it is owing entirely to the Coolie slave-trade.

As illustrating the terrible ordeal through which Trinidad has passed, we quote from Mr. Underhill. He says:

"Three years after emancipation, in 1841, the condition of the island was most deplorable; the laborers had, for the most part, abandoned the estates, and taken possession of plots of vacant land, especially in the vicinity of the towns, without purchase or lawful right. Vagrancy had become an alarming habit of great numbers; every attempt to take a census of the population was baffled by the frequent migrations which took place. Criminals easily evaded justice by absconding to places where they were unknown, or by hiding themselves in the

dense forests, which in all parts edged so closely on the cleared lands. Drunkenness increased to an enormous degree, assisted by planters who freely supplied rum to the laborers, to induce them to remain as cultivators on their estates. High wages were obtained, only to be squandered in amusement, revelry, and dissipation; at the same time, these high wages induced a diminished cultivation of food, and a corresponding increase in price, and in the import of provisions from the neighboring islands and continent. The laborers steadily refused to enter into any contracts which should oblige them to remain in the service of a master; this would too much have resembled the state of slavery from which they had but just emerged. It was with reference to this state of things that Lord Harris wrote in 1848: 'Liberty has been given to a heterogeneous mass of individuals, who can only comprehend license; a partition in the rights and privileges and duties of civilized society has been granted to them; they are only capable of enjoying its vices.'

With the help of Vagrant Acts and other legislative enactments, somewhat like order was established; and the introduction of Coolie labor has enabled Trinidad to recover from the state of poverty into which it has been plunged. The island, however, has been compelled to burden itself with a debt of \$725,000 on account of the expenses of the Coolie slave-trade, which is disguised under the name of apprenticeship.

According to Lord Harris, one fourth of the entire negro population of Trinidad, in 1850, were living in idleness. Estates were wholly abandoned, and poverty stalked abroad. The Coolie labor arrested this downward tendency. Between 1847 and 1856, 47,739 Coolies were introduced into the West-India possessions of Great Britain, the greater portion going to Trinidad and Guiana. These 47,739 protests against the idleness of the negro have about doubled the production of sugar in Trinidad—raising it from 20,000 to 40,000 hogsheads.

But no thanks to the negro for this. It is none of his doings. Mr. Underhill declares that NOT ONE FOURTH of the persons employed on the estates are negroes. Hence this increase in the sugar production of Trinidad is no evidence of the benefit of emancipation, but just the reverse.

The case of Barbadoes is still more emphatic, though the Abolitionists are never tired of referring to that island as the proof positive of the success of "free negro labor." Now, what is Barbadoes? Well, it is a small island, about large enough for a good-sized water-melon patch. It is about 21 miles long by 14 wide, and contains 100,000 acres of land, all told. It has 150,000 inhabitants, and is more thickly settled than China. There is not an acre of wild or unimproved land; not room, as Trollope says, "for a picnic." This land is monopolized by the whites; and, under a rigid system of vagrant laws, the black is compelled to work. If an idle negro is seen, he is set to work, at wages, or else compelled to DRAG A BALL AND CHAIN on the highways. Mr. Trollope says: "When emancipation came, there was no squatting ground for the poor Barbadian. He had still to work and make sugar—work quite as hard as he had done while yet a slave. He had to do that or to starve. Consequently, labor has been abundant in this island only." Now, how this "capsizes" all the stuff the anti-slaveryites tell us about Barbadoes! Not long since there appeared in the *Independent*, of this city, an article glorifying emancipation as it had affected Barbadoes. Gov. Hinks, of that island, published a letter in proof of it, and in it occurs this remarkable admission:

"In Barbadoes, I have explained already that wages have ranged from 10*d.* to 1*s.* per task, and that rate prevails generally. In addition to these wages, a small allotment of land is usually given, but on a most uncertain tenure. The laborer may be EJECTED AT ANY TIME ON A FEW DAYS' NOTICE, and he is subjected to PENALTIES FOR NOT WORKING ON THE ESTATE."

There is the alternative to the negro,

"work or starve." Does any one suppose that the negroes of Barbadoes would work any better than the negroes of Jamaica, if there were plenty of unoccupied land in that island, as there is in Jamaica, on which they could squat? If the negroes of Barbadoes are as enterprising as the Abolitionists would have us believe, why do they not emigrate to Jamaica, where labor is in such demand, much higher than in Barbadoes, and where land is plenty? The truth is easily told. The negro never emigrates voluntarily any where. He works when compelled to, and riots in idleness wherever he has a chance to show out his nature. It is doubtful, however, whether the production of sugar in Barbadoes is any larger now than it was nearly 200 years ago. It was one of the first islands in which the Spaniards cultivated sugar, and in 1676 the sugar-trade of Barbadoes required 400 vessels, of 150 tons each.* The production of sugar in 1852 was 48,000 hogsheads. In 1836, the tonnage of its shipping was 62,000, about the same as in 1676. It is, therefore, quite evident that there has not been a material change in Barbadoes for many years. The negroes have simply exchanged masters, and are probably now in a worse condition than under the old system.

We have thus traced, with some minuteness, the present condition of four

of the principal West-India Islands. Hayti, where the negro has been left mainly to himself, we have seen, has gone back to its original, uncultivated wilderness, and the inhabitants are sunk into the SAVAGISM OF THEIR AFRICAN ANCESTORS. They are rapidly losing even all conceptions of civilization, and, as soon as the mulattoes die out, the process will be complete. Abolitionism will have reared an African heathenism on this continent as the culmination of their bastard philanthropy. Civilization, and all the wants of civilization, are utterly ignored by the negroes of Hayti. The cotton, sugar, coffee, indigo, etc., which they ought to supply to the world, are left uncultivated.

Jamaica, the principal British West-India island, though the white population there has struggled against it, presents essentially the same features. Every where are desolation and ruin. These beautiful and fertile islands, perfect "gems of the sea," are turned over to savagism, and ruined upon the false and visionary idea that negroes are white men!

To present at a glance the effects of Free Negroism in the West-India Islands, and to sum up the whole subject in a brief space, it is only necessary to examine the following table, showing the deficit in production under "free negro labor:"

CONTRAST OF "SLAVE" NEGRO LABOR AND "FREE" NEGRO LABOR EXPORTS FROM THE WEST-INDIES.

"SLAVE" NEGRO LABOR.			
	Years.	lbs. Sugar.	
British West-Indies,.....	1807	636,025,643	lbs. Coffee. 31,610,764
Hayti,.....	1790	163,318,810	lbs. Cotton. 17,000,000*
Total,.....		809,344,453	7,286,126
"FREE" NEGRO LABOR.			
	Years.	lbs. Sugar.	
British West-Indies,.....	1848	313,306,112	lbs. Coffee. 6,770,792
Hayti,.....	1848	very little	lbs. Cotton. 427,529†
Total,.....		313,306,112	34,114,717‡
"Free" Negro Labor Deficit,.....		496,038,341	40,885,509
			67,360,474
			2,018,983
			22,267,143

If it were necessary to add to the proof we have given, that it is the overthrow of the supremacy of the white race, and that alone, that has

produced this deplorable result, it is only required to cite the case of Cuba. Let Mr. Underhill, the British Abolitionist, from whom we have quoted, describe the difference between Cuba,

* Sugar: Its Culture and Consumption. By P. L. Simmonds, of London.

* 1800. † 1840. ‡ 1847.

where "slavery" exists, and where it does not. Of Havana he says:

"It is the BUSIEST AND MOST PROSPEROUS OF ALL THE CITIES OF the Antilles. Its harbor is one of the finest in the world, and is CROWDED WITH SHIPPING. Its wharves and warehouses are piled with merchandise, and the general aspect is one of GREAT COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY. Its exports nearly reach the annual value of NINE MILLIONS STERLING, (\$45,000,000,) and the customs furnish an annual tribute to the mother country over and above the cost of government and military occupation. EIGHT THOUSAND ships annually resort to the harbor of Cuba."

Evidently Mr. Underhill had got into a new world. He saw it, and was struck with the contrast it presented to the dilapidated region he had just left. In order to show the contrast between the PROGRESS of Cuba, and the DECLINE of Jamaica, it is only necessary to give a few statistics. The value of the exports of Jamaica, in 1809, were greater than those of Cuba in 1826, and a comparison of the two islands gives the following:

Jamaica, in 1809,.....	\$15,166,000
Cuba, in 1826,.....	13,809,388
Jamaica, in 1854,.....	4,480,661
Cuba, in 1854,.....	31,683,731

What a picture is this of free negroism! What can the Abolitionist, who prates of free negroes laboring, say to these facts and figures? Cuba has been just as steadily advancing as Jamaica has been retrograding.

The productiveness of Cuba is most astonishing. Her exports are *more per head than those of any other country on the face of the globe*. Her export and import trade for 1859 was as follows:*

Exports for 1859,.....	\$57,455,185
Imports for 1859,.....	43,465,185

Showing an excess of exports over imports of\$13,989,506

Now, the population of Cuba is only about one million and a half, all told, black and white. Upon analyzing the above figures, then, it will be seen that

* Balanza General Del Comercio de la Isla de Cuba en 1859. Habana: 1861.

the exports of Cuba amount to about \$40 per head for each man, woman and child on the island! At the same time it should be noted that this great production is not all exchanged for articles imported, but there is a net income or surplus of exports over imports of \$13,989,506.

This net surplus of wealth amounts to \$9.32 cents for each man, woman and child in Cuba. No other country in the world can present such a picture of prosperity, and yet Cuba is by no means as productive as she might be. Through a mistaken policy, or supposed kindness to the negro, manumissions are easily procured, and freed negroes are multiplying so rapidly that her welfare will, ere long, be very seriously impaired, unless the evil be checked.

But it will be instructive to take a glance at our own exports and imports, so that we may be able to see how much we are dependent upon negro labor for our prosperity. The exports of the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1860, embracing specie and American produce, amounted to \$373,167,461; in addition to which we also re-exported about \$27,000,000 of foreign produce, the result standing as follows:

Exports for 1859-60,.....	\$400,167,465
Imports for 1859-60,.....	381,727,209

Excess of exports over imports....\$38,370,252

This gives a net surplus of only \$1.26 cents per capita, while in Cuba, an exclusively negro labor country, it is \$9.32 per head. Taking our aggregate domestic exports, and making a similar comparison, we find, calling our population in round numbers thirty millions, that our exports per head are \$12.43, against \$40 per capita in Cuba.

Having shown now that the exports of the United States, North and West amount, we will call it, to \$12½ per head, it will be interesting to analyze these exports and see where they come from. To whom is the country mainly indebted for this surplus wealth, which enables us to buy and pay for nearly four hundred mil-

lions of foreign goods per year? It is very certain that we can have no imports, unless we have something to pay for them. Nor can we have any commerce unless we have something to sell which other nations want. It has been shown that the specie and American produce exported were, as above stated, \$373,167,461; of this amount the specie was \$56,946,851. The amount of American produce consequently exported was \$316,220,610.

We propose to classify the amount furnished exclusively by the free States, the amount furnished by both the free and "slave" States, (which it is impossible to separate and designate the respective amount furnished by each,) and the amount furnished exclusively by the "slave" States.

FREE STATES EXCLUSIVELY.

Fisheries,.....	\$4,156,480
Coal,.....	731,817
Ice,.....	183,111

Total free States,..... \$5,071,401

FREE AND SLAVE STATES.

Products of the forest,.....	\$11,756,060
Products of agriculture,.....	20,206,265
Vegetable food,.....	25,656,494
Manufactures,.....	35,154,644
Manufactured articles,.....	2,397,031
Raw produce,.....	1,355,805

Total free and slave States, .. \$96,826,299

SLAVE STATES EXCLUSIVELY.

Cotton,.....	\$191,806,555
Tobacco,.....	15,906,547
Rosin and turpentine,.....	3,734,527
Rice,.....	2,566,390
Tar and pitch,	151,095
Brown sugar,.....	103,244
Molasses,.....	44,562
Hemp,.....	8,951

Total slave States,.....\$214,322,880

RECAPITULATION.

Free States exclusively,.....	\$5,071,431
Free and slave States,.....	96,826,299
Slave States exclusively,.....	214,322,880

Total,.....\$316,220,610

If any one will analyze the articles embraced in the amount, \$96,826,299, belonging alike to the North and the South, he can not fail to come to the conclusion that at least one third is justly the product of negro labor. The result, then, stands as follows:

Exports of Southern States,.....	\$246,598,813
Exports of Northern "	69,622,297

Total,.....\$316,220,610

Calling the population of the North, in round numbers, twenty millions, and the population of the South ten millions, we have the significant fact that while the exports of the North amount to only \$3.45 per head, those of the South amount to \$24.65!* It is not intended by this statement to deny that the North has vast industry, but white men, in a temperate or cold latitude, *consume* nearly all the products of their own labor, and hence it is, that in all ages, every nation which has acquired wealth and power, obtained them from tropical regions where the inferior races, in their normal relation to the superior race, produced them. It is thus self-evident that nearly all the wealth of our country is derived from negro servitude, for wealth is the surplus of production over consumption. The North has but little over—the South a great deal. It is the tropical regions which must be relied upon for this surplus wealth. When Spain held all her tropical possessions on this Continent, it is estimated that her net income from them was not less than \$50,000,000 annually, and she was the mistress of the world. When she lost them, her greatness and wealth declined, and she soon sunk to a third or fourth-rate power. Of late years she has been improving, and if she do not commit the folly of overthrowing the natural relation of the races, she will rapidly advance in power, wealth, and prosperity.

There is one other view of this question, which is very important,

* To this statement it may be objected that the North sends a vast quantity of produce and manufactured articles to the South, but it should be remembered that the South also sends a vast quantity of *her* produce North. Our consumption of cotton is about \$55,000,000; of sugar, \$25,000,000; besides naval stores, rice, tobacco, etc., which do not enter into our calculation of Southern exports, any more than the Northern articles sent South enter into the exports of the North. Our calculation is based upon the *foreign* exports, as these only represent the *surplus* wealth of the country.

and is worthy the careful attention of every person who desires to be well informed upon the *causes* of the greatness, grandeur and prosperity of his country. It is frequently asserted, by thoughtless people, who have never investigated this subject, that the North has supported the South, paid the expenses of the government, etc. Now, all *imports* are based upon *exports*, and hence it is the *exports*

which, in fact, furnish the revenue of a country, and *not* the imports, for the latter are but the representative of the former, without which they could not exist. Taking the history of our government for forty years, this view of the case presents some most astounding results, which are condensed with much labor in the following table:

RETURNS FROM THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT AT WASHINGTON, SHOWING THE VALUE OF THE EXPORTS AND IMPORTS FOR FORTY YEARS, FROM 1821 TO 1861, WITH THE CUSTOMS PAID DURING THE SAME TIME TO THE UNITED STATES.

Gross value of exports, from 1821 to 1861,.....	\$5,556,401,272
“ “ imports, “ “	5,501,238,157
Customs duties on imports, paid in the U. S. Treasury,.....	1,191,874,443

TOTAL UNITED STATES EXPORTS FOR FORTY YEARS.

Cotton,.....	\$2,574,834,991	
Tobacco,.....	424,118,067	
Rice,.....	87,854,511	
Naval stores,.....	110,981,296	
	\$3,198,850,965....	Amount of Duty
		\$689,141,805
Food,.....	1,006,951,335....	216,682,773
Gold,.....	458,588,615....	95,349,955
Crude articles, manufactures, etc.,.....	892,010,457....	190,699,910
	\$5,556,401,272....	\$1,191,874,443

EXPORTS FROM THE SOUTH EXCLUSIVELY, FOR FORTY YEARS.

Cotton,.....	\$2,574,834,091	
Tobacco,.....	425,118,067	
Rice,.....	87,854,511	
Naval stores,.....	110,981,296....	Amount of Duty, paid by the South.
One third of food,.....	335,650,411....	\$689,141,805
40 per cent. gold, *.....	183,688,615....	72,227,591
	\$3,718,026,991	\$799,508,378
Amount of duty from the North,.....		392,365,065

Difference,..... \$407,244,313

It will thus be seen that Southern products have contributed to the support of the government nearly \$800,000,000, while Northern products have contributed less than half that sum! Can there be any doubt, therefore, in the mind of any candid and sensible

* Some people, without reflecting, may suppose that this estimate, giving the South one third of the gold production for forty years, is too high; but they should recollect that the estimate is made for forty years, and we have had gold from California for only ten or twelve years. Previous to that time we depended entirely upon the mines of Georgia, North and South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland for our gold. These mines have been very productive, the Dorn mine in South-Carolina bringing to the U. S. Mint, at Charlotte, \$220,000 to \$225,000 annually.

person, that this country owes its unparalleled prosperity to negro labor? We do not mean to say that this difference arises from any inferiority of Northern or superiority of Southern men, but solely from that *universal law of nature, that the cultivation of the tropics, carried on by the enforced labor of the inferior races, produces a large surplus over consumption, while white men in temperate latitudes consume nearly all they produce. Destroy this cultivation, and you destroy Northern commerce, labor, mechanics, manufactures, etc., etc., and reduce white men to poverty and privation.*

The comparative value of free negro labor and “slave” negro labor is

also forcibly illustrated in the *progress* of our own country, when compared with those places where the negro has been deprived of the guidance of the white man. It is often the habit of Abolition writers to compare the value of "free" and "slave" labor, in order to show the vast superiority of the former over the latter. But they are always very careful to have the comparison to occur between WHITE labor and negro labor. They never DARE to make a comparison between negro "FREE" labor and negro "SLAVE" labor. As white men are superior to negroes, their labor ought to be superior to theirs, and in all latitudes where white labor is available, it is more valuable, because more intelligent. There is no sense, therefore, in comparing Ohio with Alabama, simply because there are no grounds for a comparison. The white man could not do the work of the negro in Alabama, nor could the negro do the work of the intelligent farmer in Ohio. The real question is, are the Southern States in a better condition than the free negro countries? This is the correct test as to the success of free negroism. It is only necessary, in order to answer this question, to show the constant and steady increase of the great staple of cotton—a product that has done more for the comfort and happiness of the great toiling masses than any and all other productions of modern times:

Years.	Total Bales.	Export Value.
1800	35,000	\$5,726,000
1824	509,158	21,947,401
1830	870,415	29,674,883
1835	1,254,328	64,961,302
1840	2,177,532	63,870,303
1845	2,394,503	51,739,643
1850	2,796,700	71,984,616
1851	2,355,257	112,315,317
1852	3,115,029	87,965,732
1853	3,262,882	109,456,404
1854	2,930,027	93,596,220
1855	2,847,339	88,143,844
1856	3,527,841	128,382,351
1857	2,939,519	131,575,859
1858	3,113,962	131,386,661
1859	3,351,481	161,434,923
1860	4,300,000	184,400,000

What a grand and noble picture does not this present! Yet in 1817, the production of cotton in the West-Indies and the United States was just about the same! and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Geo. Thompson and Dr. Channing, at the time of the West-India emancipation, predicted that free negro labor would soon drive all "slave" grown cotton out of the market! These architects of ruin, however, shut their eyes to the desolation they have achieved, and now, with the malignity of demons, desire to bring the calamities upon our own hitherto prosperous and happy country, which have marked the progress of the free-negro delusion in other places.

The territory cursed by free negroism in the West-Indies, however, is but a small portion of the space now blighted in the same manner. We have given no statistics of the condition of all that vast territory, comprising the fairest and most beautiful portion of our continent, extending from the Rio Grande almost to the Amazon. When it was under its Spanish conquerors, this territory, almost as large as the whole United States, was largely productive. Its capabilities, however, were never developed to any thing like their full extent, yet such cultivation as was commenced has been almost wholly abandoned. The country may be truly described as a desert, with only here and there an oasis, where a rude kind of cultivation produces just enough to let the world know that it is not an entire waste. Brazil, on the south, is the first spot where commerce and trade exist to any great extent, and there the negro has NOT BEEN FREED. We are thus able to count up, with perfect ease, the only places where tropical production is now carried on on this Continent—Cuba, Porto Rico, our own Gulf States and Brazil! Just four comparatively small green spots amid the wild and uncultivated yet fertile and glorious tropical regions of the western hemisphere!

PART III.

**THE EFFECT OF EMANCIPATION UPON
TRADE, COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE,
AND WHITE LABOR.**

No nation or people, from the days of imperial Babylon, has ever been great in wealth or power which did not possess the trade of the tropical regions of a continent. The wealth of the East-Indies made England what she is. With the riches which poured into her coffers, from 1750, after she expelled the Dutch from India, she was enabled to crush Napoleon, and raise herself to that power in the world which was formerly swayed by Rome. The rise and fall of imperial greatness in Asia and Europe has been determined by the possession of the trade of the East-Indies, where the enforced labor of two hundred millions of natives has formed an ever-flowing stream of wealth.

The Creator has intended our own tropical regions to be productive. They were not made "to waste their sweetness on the desert air." How are they to be made productive? That is the practical question of the hour. The negro has been brought here from Africa, where he had been a wild, untutored savage for centuries, just what he must and will be forever, (so far as we are able to judge by all the facts before us,) when he is separated from the white man. This negro has been made available for just the work to be done. The white men of this continent need and MUST HAVE cotton, sugar, coffee, indigo, and spices. Without these, civilization is put back five hundred years. True, we MIGHT again drag along as our ancestors did, the rich only being able to afford good clothing. The poor might manufacture their own by spinning, and carding, and weaving. Sugar, coffee, etc., might be again unknown luxuries. The farmer might have little or no market for his grains; but this would not satisfy us. These articles must be had, and they can not be had

without the enforced labor of the negro.

Already white men have been, and are to-day, seriously taxed on account of emancipation of this negro. Take the two items of sugar and coffee alone. If we estimate the decline in the production of sugar and coffee by the reduction that has taken place in Jamaica and other places, it is fair to calculate that, were all the negroes, now lolling in the sun, eating yams and laughing at white men, set to work, we should have at least **THREE TIMES** the amount of both articles now produced. Such a production would decrease the price at least **ONE HALF**, thus furnishing the white men of this country with their groceries at fifty per cent less than present prices.

Let us look at this subject a little more closely. The "grocery bill" of the people of the United States is computed* annually at \$86,928,000. Our imports of coffee, sugar, tobacco, and molasses, for 1853, amounted in value to \$38,479,000, of which the negro "slaves" of Cuba and Brazil supplied \$34,451,000. The balance of these four articles that we need, \$48,449,000, is the product of our own "slave" States. The "grocery bill" of the people of the United States, therefore, stands indebted as follows:

To Negro "Slave" labor.....	\$82,900,000
To all other sources.....	4,028,000

A great many well-meaning people no doubt sincerely believe that it would be good policy to emancipate the negroes engaged in producing this \$82,000,000 worth of groceries for the North. If it were done, the result is apparent. All kinds of groceries would rise in price to such an extent that no one but perhaps the wealthy classes could afford to use them. The negro, if freed in the tropical regions, ceases to produce; and all know that the less of an article produced, the higher the price, and of course the greater the tax upon the consumer. Every negro, therefore, lazily squatting in the West-Indies, and, as the *London Times* says, "sniggering at

* Professor David Christy, in *Cotton is King*.

Buckra," takes something from the pocket of every consumer of sugar, coffee, and molasses. The cost of tropical productions is now fifty per cent above what it ought to be. Coffee ought to be had for about the tax now upon it, and sugar in proportion. We are paying nearly NINETY MILLIONS of dollars annually for our groceries—FORTY MILLIONS of it at least ought to be saved, and would be, if every negro were fulfilling the Heaven-decreed ordinance of labor.

But the tax of emancipation upon the North is not fully seen in the increased price of coffee, sugar, tobacco, etc. Every negro freed in the tropics becomes at once a non-consumer of Northern products. When at work on the plantation, he eats bacon and bread, and is furnished with plenty of good, coarse clothing, shoes, hats, etc. When freed, as we have shown, he eats yams and plantains mainly, and consumes little or nothing of Northern productions. The farmer and mechanic, therefore, are taxed by his idleness in two ways—First, by an increase in the price of coffee, sugar, etc.; and secondly, by a decrease in the DEMAND for their own productions. It was not until the extension of "slavery" occurred in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, that the Western farmer began to get any thing like remunerative prices for his grain. And it is a singular fact that, the column of black labor on the Gulf, and of white labor above the 36th parallel of latitude, have kept right along *pari passu*. The one is the handmaid of the other. Carry out emancipation on the Gulf, and you destroy the farmer in Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa. It would be of little use to remove the blockade of the Mississippi if the negro is to be freed. Sectional agitators have educated the Northern mind to believe that there is an antagonism between what they call "free and slave labor," that is, between white labor and negro labor. Now, the real truth is that there never was a more perfect harmony in the world than that existing between white labor and

negro labor, and when we say negro labor, we mean so-called "slave" labor, for we must disabuse ourselves of the fallacy, that there is any such a thing as *productive free negro labor*. The negro, as we have shown, on a plantation, becomes a consumer of the agricultural productions of the Northern farmer, and the skilled labor of the Northern mechanic. His labor therefore sets in motion cotton factories and machine-shops. THE MUSCLES OF THE NEGRO AND THE INTELLECT OF THE WHITE MAN THUS BECOME THE GREAT AGENCIES OF MODERN CIVILIZATION. The exchange of the products of the one for the other constitutes OUR COMMERCE, gives employment to shipping, erects our banks, lines our streets with marble palaces, and makes a rocky island like New-York, the seat of untold wealth. Destroy this tropical production, that is, emancipate the negroes, and the commerce that flows from it would be annihilated, and New-York would be in the position of the city of Alexandria when the Portuguese discovered the route for the East-India commerce by the way of the Cape of Good Hope.

But people often say, is not the North great and powerful by herself? We answer, as history attests, that no nation has ever been great in commerce and wealth that did not have the trade of the tropical regions of a continent. What are all the productions of agriculture unless there is a market for them? The matter can be illustrated thus: Suppose all the negroes of Brazil, Cuba, and the Southern States, from which we now derive all our groceries, were set to raising grain, etc., for their own subsistence. Of course there would be no exchange of commodities and no commerce. The world is constituted with different climates and productions for the purposes of exchange and commerce. Each hemisphere has its temperate and tropical regions, and those regions require different labor. To overthrow that form of labor, by which only the tropics

can be cultivated, is as criminal as it would be to overthrow the system of labor necessary for the temperate latitudes. The tropics can not be cultivated by "freed" negroes any more than the temperate latitudes could be by putting white men in slavery. Looking to Europe as a market for our agricultural productions is a mistake. Each hemisphere of the world is mainly independent of the other. For centuries they existed without the knowledge of each other. The foreign call for our agricultural productions occurs perhaps in one year out of five, but our real and permanent markets are the tropics of our own continent, and to these our farmers should direct their attention. If every negro in Mexico, Central America, New-Granada, and the West-Indies, were this day industriously at work, we judge each white laborer in the North would have his wages increased nearly one half, while the cost of articles for his family would be decreased in about the same ratio. The Western farmer, now getting only eight or ten cents per bushel for his corn, ought to and would then get twenty-five cents. Each man, therefore, can compute the expense of emancipation as it effects himself personally. The laboring classes, then, instead of living in close, ill-ventilated apartments, where the light of day is scarcely permitted to enter, might afford neat and agreeable cottages. The demoralization of huddling human beings together would be mainly obviated, and the education, intelligence, and morality of the white population vastly increased. While emancipation has conferred no benefit on the negro, yet its most serious results have fallen on *white men*. It enslaves them, it binds burdens upon them, and if in contact with this free negro, he becomes their legal equal, and among the debased and vicious leads to amalgamation. Philanthropists have dreamed of social reforms, of the elevation of the white laboring classes, and predicted a future wherein want should be comparatively unknown, and labor meet

an adequate reward; but they have been looking for it through social reforms, perhaps convulsions. The great want is remunerative labor. Where can it be had? is the universal cry. The farmer wants better prices for his grain, the mechanic for his labor. Why do they not get them? The answer is summed up: *Thirty degrees of latitude on our continent are almost a desert waste. The finest countries the sun of heaven ever shone upon are a wilderness simply because no one will "till the ground."* Hence there is not sufficient market for the farmer, for the mechanic, for the laborer of the temperate latitude. He has no one who stands ready to consume what he is anxious to produce, and there is no one ready to produce what he stands ready to purchase. Shall we, therefore, go on in this career of folly? Shall we shut our eyes to facts, and in sheer party madness rush on to national suicide? All around us are scattered the ruins of emancipation. Torn and distracted Mexico, desolate and wild Central America, silent and deserted New-Granada, ruined and savage Hayti, dilapidated and broken-down Jamaica, all testify in thunder tones to beware of the breakers of emancipation. On the contrary, Brazil, Cuba, and Porto Rico are the marts of commerce and trade. Wherever the negro occupies the relation of servitude to the white man, all is happiness and prosperity. Where he does not, all is social chaos and blight.

CONCLUSION.

1. The foregoing pages show that these naturally fertile regions have been nearly withdrawn from the commerce of the world. The little that remains springs from a lingering force of former improvements, or from articles requiring little culture to prepare them for a market.

2. It appears that a gradual Africanization is passing over the people, which points back to their fatherland for its permanent type—a type which has been the same ever since the

Portuguese attempted to civilize by Christianizing the west coast of Africa, nearly four hundred years ago.

Had these and other fields of emancipation around the Gulf kept their former position in the market of the world, or had they obviously lost that position by misfortune, they would have furnished an argument in favor of further emancipations. Their American friends predicted and hoped for this result. Their English friends (except the planters in Jamaica) cared little about it; for they were still nauseous over our revolution, and cherished a rival interest in Asia, Australia, and the Eastern Islands.

Our reformers are slow to admit the whole truth of these results. They denied for a long time, then tried to excuse the thriftless course of these people, and now, under political pressure, they allege that the separation of master and servant must be effected without regard to consequences of this sort.

The price paid by England to separate the master and servant in Jamaica *was* the boast of the whole English press, as a vast sacrifice to the cause of African civilization. Not so *now*. There has been a larger generalization; new elements have come into the argument; the discussion has ranged over the relations of an *unlimited* population to a *limited* surface of a food-growing earth; and the *London Times* has more than intimated that Exeter Hall had led the British Parliament into a social blunder in regard to Jamaica. But the English press is now nearly unanimous in the conclusion that the only good done to the Africans in Jamaica and St. Domingo has been to deliver them from labor, and consequently from appearing in the commerce of the world. And, to turn the sharp edge of this conclusion, some of the English social philosophers ask: "What business is it of the whites, that the blacks in America shall do one thing or another, or nothing?"

If mere exemption from moderate labor is the sum of all the good to

the emancipated, in return for the Africanization of the tropical regions of America—and this concession is claimed from the whites in cold climates of the United States—then we must look deeper into the relation of the two races north of the Gulf of Mexico, and our reformers must not be surprised if we ultimately, in behalf of a common humanity, put a stop to the Africanization on the south side of the Gulf.

The two races had wants which could be better supplied in America than in Europe or Africa. The whites foresaw their future; but the blacks could not, because they know no past; and therefore the whites constrained the blacks to come.

The whites took the cold climate, and placed the blacks in the warm, just as they had been at home.

The whites left feudal masters, in a small country, and gained large freeholds in a great country.

The blacks left little and gained much. The blacks gained a full supply of the wants of themselves and their families, with freedom from care about an employer, a sick-day, a sick family, a birth or a funeral. Never before had they fancied such a condition of life.

The blacks left the same cannibal tribes, the same fetishes and witches, and the same wars, which Du Chalu found in Africa five years ago, where the chief of the last tribe he reached, in the interior, sent him, as a complimentary breakfast, a little boy to be roasted. America is the Paradise of the blacks. Would they leave it? The Colonization Society asked them, Mr. Lincoln asked them. Did they go? Political emancipation may constrain a few; military necessity may drive more; but the millions will be buried where they were born, in the sunny South. The blacks never have regretted that their race was *brought* to America.

THE PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED.

But the blacks were placed in America as coöperating partners of the whites. They grow large, and

strong, and healthful, and long-lived on the food and clothing produced for them. Their coöperation is the essence of our prosperity: they must not spoil it. We are as essential to each other as boys on the opposite ends of an up-and-down plank. They have the warm end of the plank, and we the cold. The cold constrains us to work hard to provide for a long winter; and nothing but *changing work* with them makes our winter tolerable, and bring us through.

On an east and west line, in the same climate, coöperative labor may be useful, if the one country is more advanced in its manufactures, or if it is rich in mines, but, even then, the utility requires that she shall have free access to tropical products. If the coal and iron and consequent manufactures of England induce her to take our corn and pork, it is because she gets from Asia and Brazil the price of her goods to pay us; and the time may come when we shall make similar goods for those markets. If England should sink in the ocean, it would not permanently check the prosperity of American civilization. Our coal and iron fields would work us out. But let our tropical lands (which are made small by the Gulf of Mexico) be sunk from our commerce, by Africanization, and we shall go down together. Labor-saving machines can not save us. The steam-engines down-town could not build palaces up-town and colleges at Princeton, by the *cheap manufacture* of sugar, if like engines did not *first produce cheap* sugar in the *tropics*. Machinery only makes the relations of the two races more essential to the North. For the machines open the way for a four-fold population in the North *only* on condition that the South increases its products for our use. Our great civilization rose on the abundance and cheapness of tropical products. Tropical cotton and wool in New-England enriched the boys and girls who peopled the West, and the West nursed her millions, because of the interchanges above and below Cairo.

HOW THE MODERATE LABOR OF THE BLACKS GIVES SOME LEISURE AND LUXURY TO THE WHITES.

Climate is the chief agent in this operation. The effects of climate on men and things teach laws, on this subject, which must be observed by those who would go with us in the further examination of this matter.

By the mere difference of climate, one cotton or cane field, under the same labor, is worth four corn-fields, and the support of the laborer costs less. The three fourths saved by climate are claimed by capital, commerce, and cold, and accumulate in the North.

But the products are such as we can not dispense with. The loss of them would send us back to the age of the Crusades. What sort of a toilet would a lady make of mere wool and flax? What sort of a table could a matron set forth with Indian corn, insipid pumpkins, sour apples, hard cider, and fox-grapes, without the sweets, spices, and coffee of the South?

The first smile that relaxed the grim face of the Pilgrims was raised by the sight of a West-India trader. And, perhaps, an abundant and cheap supply of tropical products induced a Boston minister to say at thanksgiving, that while he was very proud of his descent from the Puritans, he was equally thankful that the Puritans had not descended to us. The genial power of these products is akin to that of sun-rays. It can melt the iron heart of a disappointed reformer, and almost soften into modesty the temper of an escaped martyr!

Before the use of cotton-machinery, the English ships used to go, once in each year, to the Deccan, carrying food to the poor serfs, who made India shirting for our use, at one dollar a yard. They had made their cloths as usual, had delivered his share to the landlord, and waited for the ships to fetch them food; but the machines had made better cloths in England, at half the price. No ship came; and one hundred thousand of the tenants died of starvation.

To us, the failure of the blacks to coöperate will entail just as sure a diminution of the people, but it will come more gradually, and be less obvious, because the market of the world will be open, to give us temporary relief, until the prices of a diminished supply of cotton, groceries, etc., lift them out of our reach; and we turn from one cheap article to another, until insufficient food, and clothing, and fuel do their work of grinding a large and vigorous population into a small and weak peasantry.

We have shown that had all the blacks, whose labor has been withdrawn by emancipation, continued in the field, they would have been better provided for than they are now, and we might have had sugar at four cents a pound, and cotton and coffee at eight.

But this would not have met the requirement of the "reformers" in England and France. The same spirit has spread over our "reformers." No adjustment, no amendment, no melioration of the tie that binds the blacks to coöperation can be accepted. It is vain to show them, by the sad examples in these pages, that the blacks, being once fairly off the plank, are not likely to return. They talk of the unrequited labor of the blacks. We answer them, by comparing their requital with that of the laboring class in the North. They talk of hardships in the South, and we prove to them that there is more laughing and dancing on one plantation than in a dozen Northern factories. They talk of religious privileges, and we show them that there is as much singing, and praying, and preaching, and as large communions among the blacks as among the whites in the North.

But the blacks are not free. The whole history in these pages shows that, in the vocabulary of the blacks, liberty is a license not to work. And the whole matter comes to this: a necessity is laid on the "reformers!" They have a mission from human nature. A moral necessity is upon them. They are sent to preach the gospel of laziness to the blacks! They have put some of their spirit upon the President. He catches the idea of the mission, that it is the gospel of laziness. Being a military chieftain, he feels a military necessity to cut the cord which binds the blacks to the whites, and then, to rid his country of the laziness, he beseeches the blacks to go away—somewhere: and beseeches us to pay somebody a thousand millions of dollars for the privilege of abstaining from cotton, coffee, and sugar.

The "reformers" have had help. The war brought on by their movement has precipitated the practical results of a success which is not yet quite sure. Practically the link is broken—the blacks are pushed off the plank, and we of the North, who are not in office, are rolling in the dirt. The sugar and the coffee are gone out of the laborer's dinner-pail; his ragged cotton-shirt can not be replaced; the Sunday-clothes of his children are unsightly; (the son who used to work at his side is drafted:) but yield not to despair! Carry these symbols of a poverty not induced by your fault to the assembly of these apostles of laziness, and hold them up to their eyes, and say *you did it*. And when the day of deliverance comes, march with your comrades to the ballot-box and say to these "reformers," Now, *we will do it*.

ANTI-ABOLITION TRACTS.

For twenty-five or thirty years, the Abolitionists have deluged the country with innumerable books, pamphlets, and tracts inculcating their false and pernicious doctrines. Little or nothing has ever been done in the same way towards counteracting their influence. Thousands now feel that such publications are indispensably necessary. In order to supply what it is believed is a wide-felt want, the undersigned have determined to issue a series of "Anti-Abolition Tracts," embracing a concise discussion of current political issues, in such a cheap and popular form, and at such a merely nominal price for large quantities, as ought to secure for them a very extensive circulation. Two numbers of these Tracts have already been issued. No. 1 gives a critical analysis of the real causes of our present deplorable difficulties, and shows how, and how only, the Union can be restored. No. 2 is a brief history of the Results of Emancipation, showing its wretched and miserable failure, and that Negro Freedom is simply a tax upon White Labor. The facts in relation to the real condition of the Freed Negroes in Hayti, Jamaica, etc., have been carefully suppressed by the Abolition papers, but they ought to be laid before the public at once, so that the evils which now afflict Mexico, Hayti, and all countries where the Negro-equalizing doctrines have been tried, may be averted from our country forever.

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THE OPINIONS OF

William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Abraham Lincoln, William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, Horace Greeley, Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks, Ben Wade, Rufus P. Spaulding, Chas. Sumner, Francis E. Spinner, Henry Ward Beecher, James Watson Webb, John P. Hale, Carl Shurz, Rev. Henry W. Bellows, Rev. Dr. Kirk, Jas. S. Pike, and Gerrit Smith; also, The Helper Programme, as Endorsed by Sixty-Eight Members of Congress, and by David Dudley Field, Wm. Curtis Noyes, John A. Kennedy, Edg. Ketcham, Abram Wakeman, B. F. Manierre, Ed. D. Morgan, Thurlow Weed, Wm. C. Bryant, E. Delafield Smith, John Jay, &c., &c., &c.

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THE ABOLITION CONSPIRACY.

THAT the Abolitionists deliberately formed a conspiracy to destroy the Federal Union, under which these States were united in one government for purposes of general protection and mutual benefit and defense, admits of no doubt in any rational mind. Too cowardly, however, to commence their revolutionary proceedings by force of arms, they set to work, by every conceivable expedient, to get hold of the Federal Government, drive the South to resistance, and then, under the false pretence of "preserving the Union," carry out their long-cherished revolutionary purposes. The old Abolition party was too open and undisguised an organization to effect this purpose. The "Republican party," therefore, combining all the virulence of the old, simon-pure Abolition creed, with the most adroit and cunning hypocrisy, was organized to carry out this purpose. We propose to trace it *by its own record*. We commence, first, with the great pioneers of the Abolition movement, Garrison and Phillips.—For years they did not join the Republican party, because it did not come up to their ideas of a simon-pure anti-slavery organization.—Still, they always encouraged it, and prophesied that it would eventually be all right—that it was educating the people to the proper point—**ABOLITION OR DISUNION**. Here is

THE PLATFORM OF PHILLIPS AND GARRISON.

The Constitution of our fathers was a mistake. *Tear it in pieces and make a better*. Don't say the machine is out of order; it is in order; it does what its framers intended—protect slavery. Our claim is **DISUNION, BREAKING UP OF THE STATES!** I have shown you that our work cannot be done under our institutions.—**WENDELL PHILLIPS**.

THIS UNION IS A LIE! THE AMERICAN UNION IS AN IMPOSTURE, A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL! . . . I AM FOR ITS OVERTHROW! . . . Up with the flag of DISUNION, that we may have a free and glorious Republic of our own; and when the hour shall come, the hour will have arrived that shall witness the overthrow of slavery.—WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Such was the platform of these two bold but bad and honest men. They said just what they wanted to accomplish. The Republican leaders were more cautious, but their doctrines always tended to the same result, and hence the sympathy between them. Here is what Phillips said of the Republican party, when it was organized as a sectional party, and it will be noticed how well and how truly he pictured it:

PLEGGED AGAINST THE SOUTH.

No man has a right to be surprised at this state of things. It is just what we

[Abolitionists and Disunionists] have attempted to bring about. It is the *first sectional party ever organized in this country*. It does not know its own face, and calls itself national; but *it is not national*—it is sectional. The Republican party is a party of the North *pledged against the South*.—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MOULDING PUBLIC OPINION.

Again, Garrison, in his *Liberator*, said still more explicitly :

The Republican party is moulding public sentiment in the right direction for the specific work the Abolitionists are striving to accomplish, viz. :—THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION, AND THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY THROUGHOUT THE LAND.

All the while that the Abolitionists were talking thus boldly, the Republican leaders pretended to the people that Garrison and Phillips did not represent their sentiments; but let it be remembered that they expressed almost substantially the same sentiments, yet in more vague and uncertain language. As a general rule, they seemed to be pleased with, and in favor of the Constitution and the Union, but tried to make the people believe that George Washington formed a Union for *negro* freedom and *negro equality*! or, in other words, a Union that would have placed him on a level with his own negroes! People ought to have been too sensible to have been humbugged with such stuff, but many were.

We now proceed to notice the sentiments of so-called Republicans. First, we will see

THE POSITION OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS.

Rejecting the bold, outspoken position of Garrison & Co., that the Con-

stitution and the Union protected the rights of slaveholders, and recognised the subordinate position of the negro race, Lincoln, Seward, Chase, Greeley & Co. had the amazing audacity to contend that the Constitution and the Union meant negro citizenship, negro voting, negro office-holding, in a word, negro equality! and openly avowed their design of getting hold of the Federal Government, in order to carry out this revolutionary and treasonable design. What Garrison and Phillips honestly declared could be accomplished only by an *overthrow* of the Union and the Constitution, these men impudently assumed could be carried out *under* both. That there may be no mistake we give their quibbling, pettifogging position and arguments in full :

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S OPINIONS.

THE EQUALITY OF ALL MEN.

On the 16th of October, 1854, Abraham Lincoln delivered a speech at Peoria, Illinois, in which he used the following language :—

What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man *without the other's consent*. I say this is the leading principle, the *Sheet Anchor of American Republicanism*. Our Declaration of Independence says :

“We hold these truths to be self-evident,—that all men are *created equal*; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, *Liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, *deriving their just power from the consent of the governed*.”

I have quoted so much at this time merely to show that according to our ancient faith, the powers of Government are derived from the consent of the governed. Now, the relation of master and

slave is, *pro tanto*, a total violation of this principle. The master not only governs the slave without his consent, but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow *All* the governed an *Equal voice in the Government*; and that, and that only, is self-government.—*Howell's Life of Lincoln*, page 279.

Again, in a speech delivered in Chicago which we find published in the *Illinois State Journal*, the State organ of the Black Republican party of Illinois, on the 16th of September, 1856, Mr. Lincoln said:

The central idea, in our political opinion, at the beginning was, and until recently continued to be, the *equality of men*. And, although it was always *submitted* patiently to whatever inequality there seemed to be as a matter of actual necessity, its constant working has been a steady progress toward the *practical equality of all men*.

Let past differences be as nothing; and, with steady eye on the real issue, let us re-inaugurate the good old *central idea* of the Republic. We *can* do it. The human heart is with us; God is with us. We shall again be able not only to declare that all the States, as States, are equal, nor yet that all citizens, as citizens, are equal, but renew the broader, better declaration, including both these and *much more* that all *men* are created equal.

IN FAVOR OF NEGRO EQUALITY.

Yet again, in his speech at Chicago, on the 10th of July, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said:

I should like to know if, taking the old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, and making exceptions to it, where will it stop? *If one man says it does not mean a negro, why not another say it does not mean some other man?*

If that declaration is not the truth, let us get the statute book where we find it and tear it out. Who is so bold as to do it? If it is not true, let us tear it out? [Cries of "No, no!"] *Let us stick to it, then, let us stand firmly by it, then.* * * * * Let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man—this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position—discarding the standard that we have left us. *Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal.* * * * * I leave you hoping that the *lamp of liberty* will burn in your bosoms until there shall no longer be a doubt that all men are created free and equal. See "Debates between Lincoln and Douglas," revised by Mr. Lincoln after his nomination for the presidency, pages 23, 24.

THE "IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT!"

We believe Mr. Lincoln claims to be the author of the "irrepressible conflict" idea. At least we find him giving it utterance in his speech at Springfield, Illinois, on the 17th of June, 1858. We quote from the volume of debates between Lincoln and Douglas, page 1. Mr. Lincoln said:

We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "*A house divided against itself cannot stand.*" *I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free.*

That is, that it cannot endure as Washington formed it, and as it existed for seventy years. Mr. Garrison was of

exactly the same opinion, and though Mr. Lincoln does not say all that Mr. Garrison does, yet the person must be short-sighted who cannot see what Mr. Lincoln's real meaning is. And if any proof were needed of the identity of their principles, it is to be found in the fact that Mr. Lincoln has at last *openly come to Garrison's platform!*

LINCOLN IN FAVOR OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE HIGHER LAW!

In his tenth of July speech, in Chicago (see Debates, page 15), Mr. Lincoln in reply to some strictures on his Springfield speech, said:

I did not even say that I desired that slavery should be put in course of ultimate extinction. *I do say so now, however;* so there need be no longer any difficulty about that. It may be written down in that speech.

I have always hated slavery, I think, as much as any abolitionist—I have been an old line Whig—I have always hated it; but I have always been quiet about it until this new era of the introduction of the Nebraska bill began. I always believed that everybody was against it, and that it was in course of Ultimate Extinction.

WM. H. SEWARD'S OPINIONS.

THE CONSTITUTION VOID.

Wm. H. Seward, following out the same ideas inculcated by Lincoln, says:

But assuming the same premises, to wit: that all men are equal by the law of nature and of nations, the right of property in slaves falls to the ground; for one who is the equal of another cannot be the owner or property of that other. *But you answer that the Constitution recognizes property in slaves. It would be sufficient, then, to reply that this Constitutional recognition must be*

void, because it is repugnant to the law of nature and of nations.—Seward's Works, vol. i., p. 71.

Four months after Mr. Lincoln's speech of the 17th of June, 1858, we find the Hon. Wm. H. Seward, expressing the same idea in his speech at Rochester, N. Y.:

Thus these *antagonistic systems* are continually coming into closer contact, and *collision results*. Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. *It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation.*

VIOLATE THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

Again, Mr. Seward says:

Extend a cordial welcome to the fugitive who lays his weary limbs at your door, and defend him as you would your paternal gods. *Correct your own error, that slavery has any Constitutional guarantee which may not be released, and ought not to be relinquished.* Say to slavery, when it shows its bond and demands the pound of flesh, that if it draws one drop of blood, *its life shall pay the forfeit.* * * * * Do all this, and inculcate all this * * * and you will soon bring the parties of the country into an effective aggression upon slavery. *Whenever the public mind shall will the abolition of slavery, the way will open for it.—Seward's Works, vol. iii., pp. 331-2.*

SLAVERY MUST BE ABOLISHED.

Mr. Seward, in his great speech at Cleveland, Ohio, in the canvass of 1848, used the following explicit and unmistakable language:

Slavery can be limited to its present bounds; it can be ameliorated. *It can be and it must be Abolished, and you and I can and must do it.* The task is as simple and easy as its consummation will be beneficent, and its rewards glorious. It only requires to follow this simple rule of action: to do everywhere and on every occasion what we can, and not to neglect or refuse to do what we can, at any time, because at that precise time, and on that particular occasion, we cannot do more. *Circumstances determine possibilities.*

Again, in a speech in the Senate, March, 1858, Mr. Seward said:

The interests of the white race demand the Ultimate Emancipation of all men. Whether that consummation shall be allowed to take effect, with needful and wise precautions against sudden change and disaster, *or be hurried on by Violence*, is all that remains for you to decide.

Again, in his speech at Albany, Oct. 12, 1855, Mr. Seward said:

Slavery is not, and never can be, perpetual. It will be overthrown either peacefully and lawfully under this Constitution, or it will work the subversion of the Constitution, together with its own overthrow. Then the **SLAVEHOLDERS WOULD PERISH IN THE STRUGGLE.**

Again, in his speech in the Senate, March 11, 1850, Mr. Seward threatens the South with "civil war" unless they emancipate their slaves. He said:

When this answer shall be given, it will appear that the question of dissolving the Union is a complex question, that embraces the fearful issue whether the Union shall stand, and slavery, under the steady, peaceful action of moral, social and political causes, be removed by gradual, voluntary effort, and with compensation, *or whether the UNION SHALL BE DISSOLVED, and civil war en-*

sue, bringing on violent but complete and immediate emancipation. We are now arrived at that stage when that crisis can be foreseen—when we must foresee it. It is directly before us. Its shadow is upon us.

In plain words, Mr. Seward says to the South: You can have union and the gradual emancipation of slavery, or you *shall* have disunion, civil war, and immediate emancipation! This, in plain English, was his proposition.

THE HIGHER LAW.

Still later, in 1860, at Boston, he boldly proclaimed:

What a commentary upon the history of man is the fact that eighteen years after the death of John Quincy Adams *the people have for their standard-bearer Abraham Lincoln, confessing the obligations of the higher law which the Sage of Quincy proclaimed, and contending for weal or woe, for life or death, in the Irrepressible Conflict between freedom and slavery.* I desire only to say that *we are in the last stage of the conflict before the great triumphant inauguration of this policy into the Government of the United States.*

HE TAUNTS THE SOUTH.

Following in the same strain, Mr. Seward, in his speech in the Senate, April 9, 1856, jeered the South with the taunting menace that she should have no repose, but that rifles and cannon would take the place of words. Hear him:

The solemnity of the occasion draws over our heads that cloud of disunion which always arises whenever the subject of slavery is agitated. Still the debate goes on more ardently, earnestly and angrily than ever before. It employs now not merely logic, reproach,

menace, retort and defiance, BUT SABRES, RIFLES AND CANNON. Do you look through this incipient war quite to the end, and see there peace, quiet and harmony on the subject of slavery? If so, pray enlighten me and show me how long the way is which leads to that repose. * * *

RECOMMENDS DISUNION.

After showing that this agitation will lead to war between the North and the South, Mr. Seward suggest to the Pacific States that then would be their time to withdraw from the Union; he continues:

'Then the free States and slave States of the Atlantic, divided and warring with each other, would disgust the free States of the Pacific, and they would have *abundant cause and justification for withdrawing from a Union* productive no longer of peace, safety and liberty to themselves, and no longer holding up the cherished hopes of mankind.

SALMON P. CHASE'S OPINIONS.

IN FAVOR OF NEGRO VOTING. &c.

Salmon P. Chase, twice elected Governor of Ohio, and now Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, was presented with a silver pitcher by the negroes of Cincinnati on the 6th of May, 1845. In response to the presentation, he said:

In what I have done I cannot claim to have acted from any peculiar consideration of the colored people as a separate and distinct class in the community, but from the simple conviction that all the individuals of that class are members of the community, and, in virtue of their manhood, *entitled to every original right enjoyed by any other member*. We feel, therefore, that all *Legal Distinction* between individuals of the same community, founded in any such circumstances

as color, origin, and the like, are *hostile to the genius of our institutions*, and incompatible with the true theory of American liberty. *Slavery and oppression must cease, or American liberty must perish.*

In Massachusetts, and in most, if not all, the New England States, the colored man and the white are absolutely equal before the law.

In New York the colored man is restricted as to the right of suffrage by a property qualification. In other respects the same equality prevails.

I embrace with pleasure this opportunity of declaring *My Disapprobation of that clause of the Constitution which denies to a portion of the colored people the right of suffrage.*

True Democracy makes no inquiry *about the color of the skin or place of nativity*, or any other similar circumstance of condition. I regard therefore the *exclusion of the colored people as a boly from the elective franchise as incompatible with true Democratic principles.*

Mr. Chase, in the speech delivered in Cincinnati, from which we have already quoted, as above, said:

For myself I am ready to renew my pledge, and I will venture to speak in behalf of my co-workers, that we will go straight on, without faltering or wavering, *until every vestige of oppression is erased from the statute-books*—until the sun, in all his journey from the utmost eastern horizon the mid-heaven, till he sinks behind the western bed, shall *not behold the footprint of a single slave in all our broad and glorious land.*

Mr. Chase, a speech at Pontiac, Michigan, in 1856, thus stated the issue, or rather his conception of the issue, between the parties:

I ask you to take sides and decide where you will be. "If the Lord be God, then serve him: but if Baal, then serve him." If slavery is right; if capital ought to own labor; then go for the

doctrine openly. If you believe that freedom is the right of man, then join the party which has inscribed on the folds of its banner, "*Freedom throughout the Country's wide domain!*"

HORACE GREELEY'S OPINIONS.

ALL DISTINCTIONS OF COLOR UNJUST.

Now, let us hear from Horace Greeley, "the chief cook and bottle-washer" in the Chicago Convention, whose efforts there brought about the nomination of Lincoln. As far back as the 17th of January, 1851, Greeley thus spoke in his *Tribune*:

We loathe and detest all laws which give or withhold political rights on account of color. "A man's a man for a' that," and ought to have the full rights of manhood, whether his ancestors were Celts, Goths, or Hottentots, whether his complexion be ebony or ivory. * * *

All constitutional exclusions of any class from the polls, the jury-box, &c., because of color, are aristocratic, unjust, and infamous.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE STATES THE REAL OBJECT AIMED AT.

Horace Greeley, in the *Tribune* of July 27th, 1854, in reply to a letter of James E. Birney's, acknowledges that he will be in favor of abolishing slavery in the States "as soon as practicable."

Admit that abolition in the State is what all men ought to strive for, and it is clear to my mind that a large majority are not prepared for this, and the practical question is this; shall we politically attempt what will certainly involve us in defeat and failure? or shall we not rather attempt that which a majority are ripe for, and thus, by our consequent triumph, invite that majority to go further? Shall we insist on having all the possible eggs now, or be content to await their appearance day by day? The latter seems to us the

only rational, sensible course. We care not how fast Messrs. Birney & Co. may ripen public sentiment in the North for Emancipation, we will aid them to the best of our ability; but we will not refuse the good now within our reach, out of deference to that which is as yet unattainable. Mr. Birney's "ultimatum" may be just what he sees fit; we have not proposed to modify or meddle with it. We only ask that he shall not interdict or prevent the doing of some good at once, merely because he would like to do more good, as we shall, also, whenever it shall become practicable.

NOMINATES FRED. DOUGLASS FOR CONGRESS.

Again, in 1855, we see him proposing and urging the nomination for Congress of that notorious negro, Fred. Douglass. Just listen to him:

Among the candidates put up by the Convention of the Liberty party at Utica, on Wednesday, is Mr. Frederick Douglass, of Monroe county, who is nominated for the office of Secretary of State. With respect to ability, a better nomination could hardly be desired; but we confess that we should regret to see Mr. Douglass elected. His proper place is not a member of the State Administration at Albany, but as a member of Congress at Washington. For the former office he possesses no qualifications that might not be found in other gentlemen, while for the duties of a representative at Washington he is particularly gifted. As an orator and debater he possesses both the force and the grace of a Virginia gentleman of the old school and one of the first families, to which a great depth of conviction, and a resolution worthy of the best days of the Republic, add a persuasive and magnetic charm not often felt in the Federal Capitol. We trust, then, that the friends of Mr. Douglass will not persist in urging his election to the office for which he is nominated, but will make every preparation to return him to Congress on the very first vacancy in the Monroe district.

BURN THE CAPITAL RATHER THAN FAIL.

Now hear Horace Greeley thunder forth his revolutionary advice to the Black Republicans in Congress, when the Kansas Nebraska bill was pending :

We urge, therefore, unbending determination on the part of the Northern members hostile to this intolerable outrage, and demand of them in behalf of peace, in behalf of freedom, in behalf of justice and humanity, *resistance to the last. Better that confusion should ensue—better that discord should reign in the national councils—better that Congress should break up in wild discord—nay, better that the Capitol itself should blaze by the torch of the incendiary, or fall and bury its inmates beneath its crumbling ruins*, than that this perfidy and wrong shall be finally accomplished.

ABUSE OF THE STARS AND STRIPES.

The hatred that Horace Greeley and the men who sympathize with him, have for the Union of WASHINGTON, is well illustrated by the following song which appeared in the *Tribune* of June 13th, 1854, and even now not condemned by Mr. Greeley, who, in acknowledging, in the summer of 1863, that he published it, intimated no objection to the sentiments it contains :

ODE TO THE AMERICAN FLAG.

All hail the flaunting Lie !
The stars grow pale and dim,
The stripes are bloody scars,
A lie the vaunting hymn.

It shields a pirate's deck,
It binds a man in chains,
It yokes the captive's neck,
And wipes the bloody stains.

Tear down the flaunting Lie !
Hurl-mast the starry flag !—
Insult no sunny sky
With hate's polluted rag !

Destroy it, ye who can !
Deep sink it in the waves !
It bears a fellow-man
To groan with fellow-slaves.

Furl the boasted Lie !
Till freedom lives again,

To rule once more in truth,
Among untrammelled men.

Roll up the starry-sheen,
Conceal its bloody stains :
For in its folds are seen
The stamp of rustling chains !

ORIGIN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

To show that the designs of the Republican party were purely abolition, disunion, *sectional*, it is only necessary to refer to its origin. On the 26th of September, 1854, a Convention called as an anti-Nebraska Convention, met at Auburn, N. Y., at the home of Wm. H. Seward. It was composed of the abolition element of the old Whig and Democratic parties. Wm. T. McCoun presided. Such men as John Jay, Christopher Morgan, Bradford R. Wood, Wm. H. Burleigh, Amos P. Granger, General Bruce, John P. Hale, were present. The object of this Convention was "to organize a Republican party which should represent the friends of freedom." General Bruce said, "they would raise a thunder that *would shake Southern Slavery to its very centre*." They finally adopted the Whig nominations of that year, as their candidates, (Myron H. Clark for Governor, and H. J. Raymond for Lieutenant-Governor,) after they had first pledged themselves to their (the Republican) principles.

The following resolution, showing the *sectional* character of the party, was adopted. It was offered by General Amos P. Granger :

Resolved, That we recommend that a Convention of Delegates *from the Free States*, equal in number to their representatives in Congress respectively, be held at the city of Syracuse, on the 4th of July, 1856, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency

of the *United States*, for the next Presidential election.

The resolution was adopted with "tremendous cheering," says the reports to be found in any of the New York daily papers, of September 27th, 1854 :

Dr. Snodgras moved to call this the *Republican Party*—carried. And then, after a vote of thanks to the officers, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

Such was the origin of the Republican *sectional* party. The Convention called as above was the very Convention that nominated Fremont, though its place of meeting was afterwards changed from Syracuse to Philadelphia. It will be noticed that it called for delegates from the *Northern States* only, to nominate a President for *all* the States.

Following this party up to 1860, when it nominated Lincoln and Hamlin, at Chicago, we find it still clinging to its *sectional* character, as if rather proud than otherwise of the fact.

The Republican Convention met at Chicago, May 16, 1860, and nominated Abraham Lincoln. During the proceedings of that Convention, [See New York *Tribune*, May 18th, 1860,] Judge Jesup rose and said :

That he desired to amend a verbal mistake in the name of the party. It was printed in the resolutions *National* Republican party. He wished to strike out the word *National*, as that *was not* the name by which the party was *properly* known.

The correction was made.

The above shows that this *sectional* party was organized deliberately, to enable the North, if it got into power, to *rule the South without its consent*, that is, to destroy the Union, abolish "slave-

ry," and change the entire form of the government; or, if not able to abolish "slavery," and change the form of the government, to at least *destroy the Union*, or, in other words, "let it slide."

We now propose to show, from the speeches and addresses of lesser lights, that all the teachings of this party and its leaders have led to just the programme laid down above. As Garrison said, they were "moulding public sentiment for the dissolution of the Union, and the abolition of slavery." We ask every candid man to read the record and then say, if he can, that they are not disunionists. We will commence with

GEN. N. P. BANKS

Governor Banks, of Massachusetts, who was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1856, by the Black Republicans, now one of Mr. Lincoln's Major-Generals, in a speech, delivered in Maine, in the preceding year, said :

Although I am not one of that class of men who cry for the preservation of the Union; *though I am willing, in a certain state of circumstances, TO LET IT SLIDE*, I have no fear for its perpetuation. But let me say, if the chief object of the people of this country be to maintain and propogate chattel property in man—in other words, human slavery—*this Union can not and OUGHT NOT TO STAND*.

Still later, in 1856, in a speech in Massachusetts, we find Mr. Banks turning prophet, and predicting a "military dictatorial government" in this country. He had no faith in the stability of "free institutions." He said :

I can conceive of a time when this Constitution shall not be in existence;

when we shall have an absolute military dictatorial government, transmitted from age to age, with men at its head who are made rulers by military commission, or who claim an hereditary right to govern those over whom they are placed.

SENATOR WADE, OF OHIO.

In a speech at a mass meeting in Maine, in 1855, the same at which Mr. Banks spoke, Senator Wade, of Ohio, gave utterance to the following treasonable sentiments:

There was no freedom at the South for either white or black; and he would strive to protect the free soil of the North from the same blighting curse. There was really NO UNION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH; and he believed no two nations upon the earth entertained feelings of MORE BITTER RANCOR toward each other than these two sections of the Republic. The only salvation of the Union, therefore, was to be found in divesting it entirely from all taint of SLAVERY. THERE WAS NO UNION IN THE SOUTH. Let us have a Union, OR LET US SWEEP AWAY THIS REMNANT WHICH WE CALL A UNION. I go for a Union, where all men are equal. OR FOR NO UNION AT ALL, and I go for right.

And, as if to mark their approval of such doctrines, the Black Republicans of Ohio, the very next year, re-elected this disunionist to the Senate of the United States. His brother, the Hon. Edward Wade, has, for a number of years, occupied a seat in the House of Representatives, and we find him, in a speech delivered in the House, August 2, 1856, indorsing the treasonable doctrines of his Senatorial brother.—We quote:

Sir, if the Constitution and the Union are to be used as instruments for propagating human bondage, *they cannot be*

preserved—neither is it DESIRABLE THAT THEY SHOULD. The spirit which has taken possession of the slaveholders, and their base tools, the Democracy of the free States, is the unclean thing of slavery propagandism; and, just as sure as animal life perishes in mephitic gases, so sure is it that the Constitution and Union MUST PERISH when smothered in the fond embraces of these allies of human slavery.

“Allies of human slavery!”—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Polk, &c., &c.

HON. SIDNEY DEAN.

The Hon. Sidney Dean, of Connecticut, is in favor of dissolving the Union, unless freedom—that is, the freedom of the black race—shall be inaugurated in this country. We quote from a speech of his, delivered in the House of Representatives, July 23, 1856:

The issue of all, the reason of all, the basis of all this lies in the simple question, shall freedom or slavery be the ruling, predominant feature of the model Republic of the world? That question can be answered in one way. Freedom, human, personal freedom, the fulfilment of the great sentiment, “that all men are created *free* and equal, and endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights to life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness,” will be the national ruling of this country for future centuries, or the sun of its past glory *will set in drapery crimsoned in its own blood, ere it reaches a century of its existence.*

JUDGE RUFUS P. SPAULDING.

Now let us hear from Judge Rufus P. Spaulding, a delegate from Ohio to the Black Republican National Conventions of 1856 and 1860. He made a speech

in the Convention of 1856, which nominated Fremont, in which he said :

In the case of the alternatives being presented, *of the continuance of slavery* or a dissolution of the Union, I AM FOR DISSOLUTION; and I care not *how quick it comes*.

SENATOR SUMNER.

Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, in a speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, November 2, 1855, said :

Not that I love the Union less, but (negro) freedom more, do I now, in pleading this great cause, insist that (negro) freedom, *at all hazards*, shall be preserved. God forbid, *that for the sake of the Union*, we should sacrifice the very thing for which the Union was made.

Still later, on the 19th and 20th of May, 1856, in a speech delivered in the Senate, Mr. Sumner held this revolutionary language :

Already the muster has begun. The strife is no longer local, but national. Even now while I speak, portents hang on all the arches of the horizon, threatening to darken the broad land, *which already yawns with the mutterings of CIVIL WAR*. The fury of the propagandists of slavery, and the calm determination of their opponents, are now diffused from the distant Territory over wide-spread communities, and the whole country in all its extent—marshalling hostile divisions, and forshadowing a strife, which, unless happily averted by the triumph of freedom, *will become WAR—FRATRICIDAL, PARRICIDAL WAR*—with an accumulated wickedness beyond the wickedness of any war in human annals.

HON. FRANCIS E. SPINNER.

We next quote from a speech delivered in 1856 by the Hon. Francis E. Spinner,

now Register of the Treasury Department under Mr. Chase :

Should this (the election of Fremont) fail, no true man would be any longer safe here from the assaults of the arrogant slave oligarchy, who would then rule with an iron hand. For the free North would be left the choice of peaceful DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION, A CIVIL WAR *which would end in the same*, or an unconditional surrender of every principle held dear by freemen.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

To the same effect spoke that "bright and shining light" of Black Republicanism, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in that celebrated speech of his at New Haven, in 1856, where he proclaimed that a "Sharp's rifle was a truly moral agency." Hear him :

The people will not levy war, nor inaugurate a revolution even to relieve Kansas, until they have *first* tried what they can do by voting. If this peaceful remedy should fail to be applied this year, then the people will count the cost wisely, and decide for themselves, boldly and firmly, which is the better way, to RISE IN ARMS AND THROW OFF A GOVERNMENT *worse than that of old King George*, or endure it another four years, and then vote again.

In the same speech, Mr. Beecher thus denounced the Constitution of the Union:

The Constitution is the cause of every division which this vexed question of slavery has ever occasioned in this country. It has been the fountain and father of our troubles, by attempting to hold together, as reconciled, two opposing principles, which will not harmonize, nor agree. The only hope of the slave is *over the ruins of the Government and of the American Church. The dissolution of the Union is the abolition of Slavery*.

JAMES WATSON WEBB.

Mr. Lincoln's Minister to Brazil, was a delegate to the convention that nominated Fremont, in 1856, and Lincoln, in 1860. In the former convention he made a speech, which was loudly applauded, but no sentence received more boisterous applause than the following :

Our people loving order, loving law, and willing to abide by the ballot-box—come together from all parts of the Union and ask us to give them a nomination which, when fairly put before the people, will unite public sentiment, and through the ballot-box will restrain and repel this pro-slavery extension and this aggression of the slaveocracy. What else are they doing? They tell you they are willing to abide by the ballot-box, and are willing to make that last appeal. *If we fail there what then? We will drive it back, SWORD IN HAND, and so help me God, believing that to be right, I am with them.* [Loud cheers, and cries of "Good!"] Northern gentlemen, on your action depends the result. You may, with God's blessing, present to this country a name, rallying around it all the elements of the opposition, and thus we will become so strong that, through the ballot-box we shall save the country. *But if a name shall be presented on which we may not rally, and the consequence is CIVIL WAR—nothing more, nothing less, but civil war—I ask then, what is our first duty?*

HON. ERASTUS HOPKINS.

In same strain spoke the Hon. Erastus Hopkins, another member of the Convention. He said :

If peaceful means fail us, and we are driven to the last extremity, when ballots are useless, *then we will make BULLETS EFFECTIVE.*

HON. JOHN P. HALE.

Hon. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, was also a delegate to the Convention, and addressed it in a long speech, in which he said :

He congratulated the Convention upon the spirit of unanimity with which it had done its work. *I believe (said he) that this is not so much a Convention to change the administration of the Government, as to say whether there shall be any Government to be administered. You have assembled, not to say whether this Union shall be preserved, but to say whether it shall be a blessing or a scorn and hissing among nations.*

As this gentleman is one of the main pillars in the Black Republican edifice, and has been twice elected by them to the United States Senate, we have examined his record pretty closely, as developed in his speeches in the Senate. On the 31st of May, 1848, he said :

Let the consequences be what they may, I am willing to place myself upon the principle of human right; to stand where the Word of God and my own conscience concur in placing me, and their bid defiance to all consequences. And in the end, if this Union, bound as it is to associations, has no other principle of cement than the blood of human slavery, LET IT SUNDER.

Again, on the 12th of July, he said :

All the horrors of dissolution I can look steadfastly in the face, before I could look to that moral ruin which must fall upon us when we have so far prostituted ourselves as to become the pioneers of slavery in the Territories.

From another speech of Mr. Hale, delivered in the Senate, February 26, 1856, we extract the following blood and thunder morsel :

I thank God that the indications of the present day seem to promise that

the North have at last got to the wall, and will go no further. I hope so. The Senator says there may be a power that shall say, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further." Good! Good! Sir, *I hope it will come, and if it comes to blood, LET BLOOD COME.* No, sir, if that issue must come, *let it come, and it cannot come too soon.* . . . Sir, Puritan blood has not always shrank from even those encounters; and when the war has been proclaimed with the *knife, and the knife to the hilt, the steel has sometimes glistened in their hands*; and when the battle was over, they were not always second best.

CARL SHURZ.

In the same vein do we find Mr. Carl Shurz, a delegate from Wisconsin to the Chicago Convention that nominated Mr. Lincoln, and recently Mr. Lincoln's Minister to Spain, speaking in St. Louis, in 1860:

May the God in human nature be aroused and pierce the very soul of our nation with an energy *that shall sweep as with the besom of destruction, this abomination from the land.* You call this revolution. *It is.* In this we need revolution; we must, we will have it! LET IT COME!

REV. EDMUND H. SEARS.

Among the documents published in 1856, and circulated by the Republican National Committee as a campaign document, we find a sermon preached by the Rev. Edmund H. Sears, at Wayland, Massachusetts, June 15, 1856, (it will be recollected that the clergy were very active for Fremont,) from which we quote:

Out of the present crisis there are two paths that open before us, and only two. One is through *violence and revolution.* When the public organism has become

possessed with the spirit of evil, and is used chiefly for its work, the last remedy is to *break it in pieces*, and let right and justice go free. *Revolution is God's Remedy.*

REV. HENRY W. BELLOWES.

The Rev. Henry W. Bellows, of New York, is another political parson, who, at every election, throws off his clerical robes and takes the stump for the Black Republicans. He delivered a political sermon in 1856, which the Black Republican National Committee adopted and circulated as a Republican document. We quote from it:

Considered as a question of policy, *it is by no means certain, that the dissolution of the Union would be a political evil to us.* The Union is great, precious, sacred! but—yes! we must say it!—*humanity, duty, honor, religion, are greater than the Union.* This, then, is the unyielding ground of the Republican party—*there is no evil possible to the country at this crisis as great as the extension of slavery.* Dreadful as disunion is, *the extension of slavery is still more dreadful.* The dissolution of the Union, however deplorable, *is not primarily a question of conscience, but of policy.* We made the Union, and *we have a right to unmake it, if we choose.*

REV. DR. KIRK.

Hear another political parson and Black Republican stumper, the Rev Dr. Kirk, of Boston:

The doctrine that a negro is not a man, and the doctrine that a negro is a man, have now come to the *death struggle*, and the nation will heave with every convulsive struggle of the contest. Neither will yield until *a continent has been swept with the deluge of CIVIL WAR.*

JAMES S. PIKE.

James S. Pike, the regular editorial correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, and Mr. Lincoln's Minister to the Netherlands, thus pithily expressed his belief:

I have no doubt that the free and slave States *ought to separate*. *The Union is not worth supporting in connection with the South.*

EX-LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR FORD.

Take another gem from the speech of ex-Lieutenant Governor Ford, of Ohio, the Black Republican printer of the House of Representatives:

I love the Union, *but the time has come when we must declare we love freedom better than the Union.*

This is the same Ford who surrendered Harper's Ferry to Stonewall Jackson.

SECESSION THE DUTY OF ABOLITIONISTS.

The following resolutions were adopted by the American Anti-Slavery Society, at its regular anniversary. See *New York Observer*, May 25th, 1844:

Resolved, That a political Union in any form between a slaveholding and a free community must necessarily involve the latter in the gulf of slavery. Therefore,

Resolved, That *Secession* from the *United States government* is the duty of every *Abolitionist*, since no one can take office, or deposit a vote under its Constitution without violating his anti-slavery principles, and rendering himself an abettor to the slaveholder in his sin.

Resolved, That fourteen years of warfare against the slave power have convinced us that every act done in support of the *American Union* rivets the chains of the slave—that the only exodus of the slave to freedom, unless it be one of

blood, *must be over the remains of the present American Church, and the grave of the present Union.*

Resolved, That the *Abolitionists* of this country should make it one of the *primary objects of this agitation*, to *dissolve the American Union.*

A PETITION TO DISSOLVE THE UNION.

"Acts speak louder than words," says the old proverb. Let us see, then, how their "acts" tally with their words. On the 1st of February, 1850, Senator Hale presented two petitions from Isaac Jeffries and other citizens of Pennsylvania, and John T. Woodward and others, praying that "some plan might be devised for the dissolution of the American Union." Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, was unsparing in his denunciation of the petitions, and suggested that there should have been a preamble to them in these words:

Gentlemen, members of Congress, whereas, at the commencement of the session you and each of you took your solemn oaths, in the presence of God, and on the Holy Evangelists, that you would support the Constitution of the United States—now, therefore, we pray you to take immediate steps to break up the Union, and overthrow the Constitution as soon as you can.

Yet it received *three* votes, and *only three*, being the votes of every Black Republican Senator then in the Senate, to wit: John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, William H. Seward, of New York, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio. See Senate Journal, 1st session, 31st Congress, page 129.

On the 25th February, the same petitions were offered in the House of Representatives by Joshua R. Giddings, where they received *eight* votes, being

the Abolition vote in that body, to wit: Charles Allen, of Massachusetts, Charles Durkee, of Wisconsin, (now one of the Black Republican United States Senators from the State,) Joshua R. Geddings, of Ohio, Rufus K. Goodenow, of Maine, George W. Julian, of Indiana, (now the Black Republican member of Congress from the Fifth Congressional District of	that State,) Preston King, of New York. (late a Black Republican United States Senator from this State, a delegate to the Chicago Convention that nominated Lincoln, and chairman of the Republican National Executive Committee,) and J. M. Root, of Ohio; every one of whom is a supporter of Lincoln's Administration.
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THE ENDORSERS OF THE HELPER BOOK.

THE FIRST INCITERS TO BLOODSHED AND RIOT.

IN the year 1857, an individual named Hinton Rowan Helper, who had been forced to leave his native State, North Carolina, in disgrace, published a book, of which he was the reputed author, entitled "The Impending Crisis." The book recommended *direct* warfare on southern society, "be the consequences what they might." It was so extravagant in tone, and so diabolical in its designs, that it was at first generally supposed to be the work of a fool or a madman. No one could believe that any sane or civilized person really entertained any such devilish purposes as it professed. What, however, was the surprise of the public when the book was actually adopted by the Republican party as a campaign document, and its atrocious principles endorsed by SIXTY-EIGHT Republican members of Congress and *all the influential members of the party!* Below will be found an abstract of the principles it advocated, taken from the large edition of the work, published by A. B. BURDICK, No. 145 Nassau street, N. Y., 1860, and the names of their indorsers, &c.:

THE PROGRAMME.

1. We unhesitatingly declare ourselves in favor of the immediate and unconditional ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.—Page 26.

2. "We cannot be too HASTY in carrying out our designs."—Page 33.

3. "No man can be a true patriot without first becoming an Abolitionist."—Page 116.

4. Against slaveholders, as a body, we (that is, the Republican signers and endorsers) wage an EXTERMINATING WAR.—Page 120.

5. Slaveholders are nuisances, and it is our imperative duty to abate nuisances; we propose, therefore, to EXTERMINATE SLAVERY, than which strychnine itself is *less* a nuisance.—Page 139.

6. Slaveholders are more criminal than *common murderers*.—Page 140.

7. All slaveholders are under the shield of a perpetual license to murder.—Page 141.

8. It is our honest conviction that all the pro-slavery slaveholders, who are alone responsible for the continuance of the baneful institution among us, deserve to be at once reduced to a parallel with the *basest criminals* that lie fettered within the cells of our public prisons.—Page 158.

9. Were it possible that the whole number [of slaveholders] could be gathered together and transferred into four equal gangs of *licensed robbers, ruffians, thieves, and murderers*, society, we feel assured, would suffer less from their atrocities than it does now.—Page 158.

10. Once and forever, at least so far as this country is concerned, the infernal question of slavery must be disposed of. *A speedy and absolute abolishment* of the whole system is the true policy of the South, and this is the policy which we propose to pursue.—Page 121.

11. Slaveholders! It is for you to decide whether we are to have justice peaceably or by *violence*, for *whatever consequence* may follow, we are determined to have it, *one way or the other*.—Page 128.

WE UNFURL OUR BANNER TO THE WORLD.

Inscribed on the banner which we [W. H. SEWARD, HORACE GREELLY, and the other endorsers,] herewith *unfurl* to the world, with the full and fixed determination to stand by it, or *die by it*, unless one of more virtuous efficacy shall be presented, are the mottoes which, in substance, embody the *principles*, as we conceive, which should *govern* us.

THE MOTTOES ON OUR BANNER.

1. Thorough organization and independent political action on the part of non-slaveholding whites of the South

2. Ineligibility of slaveholders; never another vote to the trafficker in human flesh.

3. No co-operation with slaveholders in politics, no fellowship with them in religion, no affiliation with them in society.

4. No patronage to slaveholding merchants; no bequest to slave-waiting hotels; no fees to slaveholding lawyers; no employment to slaveholding physicians; no audience to slaveholding parsons.

5. No recognition of pro-slavery men, except as ruffians, outlaws and criminals.

6. Immediate *death to slavery*, or, if not immediate, unqualified proscription of its advocate during the period of its existence.—Pages 155 and 156.

7. Thus, terror-engenderers of the South, have we fully and frankly defined our position; we have no modifications to propose, no compromises to offer, nothing to retract. Frown, sirs, fret, foam, prepare your weapons, threat, strike, shoot, stab, bring on civil war, dissolve the Union, nay, annihilate the solar system if you will—do all this, more, less,

better, worse, anything—do what you will, sirs, you can neither foil nor intimidate us; our purpose is as firmly fixed as the eternal pillars of heaven; we have determined to ABOLISH SLAVERY, AND, SO HELP US GOD, ABOLISH IT WE WILL.—Page 187.

THE ENDORSERS, AIDERS AND ABETTORS OF THIS REVOLUTION AND TREASON.

NEW YORK, March 9, 1859.

DEAR SIR.—If you have read and critically examined the work, you will probably agree with us that no course of argument so successfully controverting the practice of slavery in the United States, and enforcing a precise and adequate view of its prostrating effects, material and moral has equalled that of the volume entitled “The Impending Crisis of the South; How to Meet It,” by Hinton Rowan Helper, of North Carolina.

No other volume now before the public, as we conceive, is, in all respects, so well calculated to induce in the minds of its readers a decided and persistent repugnance to Slavery, and a willingness to co-operate in the effort to restrain the shameless advances and hurtful influences of that pernicious institution.

The extensive circulation of a copious compend of the work in question among the liberty-loving voters of the country, irrespective of party or locality, would, we believe, be productive of most beneficial results; and to this end we trust you will assist us in carrying out a plan we have devised, for the gratuitous distribution of one hundred thousand copies of such a compend—which, if contracted for and published, will contain about two hundred pages, and be bound in pamphlet form.

One hundred thousand copies of the contemplated compend, which, on about two hundred pages, would contain very nearly all the matter now embraced in the regular volume, (which sells for one dollar per copy.) can be had, well printed on good paper, for *sixteen cents each*—\$16,000 in the aggregate. This amount we propose to raise in such sums as you

and other good friends of a good cause feel disposed to subscribe.

In all cases, when convenient, contributors to the cause will please make their subscriptions in the form of drafts, or certificates of deposit, payable to the order of Hon. Wm. H. Anthon, No. 16 Exchange Place, New York City, our Treasurer and Disburser, who will regularly, through the columns of the *Tribune*, acknowledge receipts of the same.

Every person who subscribes ten dollars or more, will, if timely application be made, be entitled to as many copies of the compound for distribution as he may desire, not exceeding the number that the amount of his subscription would pay for at net cost.

"Subscribers' names, with the sums severally subscribed by them, in all cases where the amount is ten dollars or more, will appear, alphabetically arranged, in the latter part of the compend.

Correspondence or personal interview in relation to this enterprise may be had with any one of the undersigned, who will be pleased to receive subscriptions in aid of its speedy consummation.

An early response from you is respectfully solicited.

WM. H. ANTHON, Treasurer,

16 Exchange Place, New York.
S. E. SEWALL, Boston, Mass.
S. PADDLEFORD, Providence.
W. B. THOMAS, Philadelphia.
W. McCauley, Wilmington.
WM. GUNNISON, Baltimore.
L. CLEPHANE, Washington.
CASSIUS M. CLAY, Whitehall.
F. P. Blair, Jr., St. Louis.

APPEAL OF C. W. ELLIOTT AND OTHERS.

The undersigned having been appointed a committee in New York, to aid in the circulation of Mr. Helper's book, on the plan proposed above, beg leave to recommend the subject to the public and ask their co-operation.

Subscriptions may be sent to the Hon. Wm. H. Anthon, No. 16 Exchange

Place, New York, directly or through either of the undersigned committee.

Chas. W. Elliot, DAVID DUDLEY FIELD
C. A. Peabody, James A. Briggs,
R. H. McCURDY, WM. CURTIS NOYES,
EDG'R KETCHUM, ABRAM WAKEMAN,
JAMES KELLY, BENJ. F. MANIERRE.

MR. SEWARD'S ENDORSEMENT.

AUBURN, June 28, 1857.

GENTLEMEN.—I have received from you a copy of your recent publication, entitled the "Impending Crisis of the South," and have read it with deep attention. It seems to me a work of *great merit*, rich, yet accurate in statistical information and logical analysis, and I do not doubt that it will exert a great influence on the public mind, in favor of *the cause of Truth and Justice*.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully

Your ob't servant,

W. H. SEWARD.

CONGRESSIONAL ENDORSEMENT.

We, the undersigned, Members of the House of Representatives of the National Congress, do cordially endorse the opinion and approve the enterprise set forth in the foregoing circular:—

Schuyler Colfax,	Anson Burlingame,
Owen Lovejoy,	Amos P. Granger,
Edwin D. Morgan,	Galusha A. Grow,
Joshua R. Giddings,	Edward Wade,
Calvin C. Chaffee,	William H. Kelsey,
Wm. A. Howard,	Henry Waldon,
John Sherman,	George W. Palmer,
Daniel W. Gooch,	Henry L. Dawes,
Justin S. Morrill,	I. Washburne, Jr.,
J. A. Bingham,	William Kellogg,
E. B. Washburne,	Benjamin Stanton,
Edward Dodd,	Cydr B. Tompkins,
John Covode,	Cad. C. Washburne,
Samuel G. Andrews,	Abraham B. Olin,
Sidney Dean,	Nathaniel B. Durfee,
Emory B. Pottle,	DeWitt C. Leach,
John F. Potter,	T. Davis, (Mass.),
J. F. Farnsworth,	C. L. Knapp,
R. E. Fenton,	Philemon Bliss,
Mason W. Tappan,	Charles Case,
T. Davis, (Iowa),	James Pike,

Homer E. Boyce	Isaac D. Clawson,
A. S. Murray,	Robert B. Hall,
Valentine B. Horton,	Freeman H. Morse,
David Kilgore,	William Stewart,
Samuel R. Curtis,	John M. Wood,
John M. Parker,	Stephen C. Foster,
Charles J. Gilman,	Charles B. Hoard,
John Thompson,	J. W. Sherman,
Wm. D. Brayton,	James Buffinton,
O. B. Matteson,	Richard Mott,
Geo. R. Cobbins,	Ezekiel P. Walton,
James Wilson,	S. A. Purviance,
Francis E. Spinner,	Silas M. Burroughs.

A FUND FOR CIRCULATING 100,000 COPIES GRATUITOUSLY.

It is believed that this testimony of a southern man, born and reared under the influence of slavery, will be more generally listened to and profoundly heeded, whether in the slave or free States, than an equally able and conclusive work written by a northern man. And it is very desirable, therefore, that a *chêap* compend of its contents, fitted for gratuitous circulation, be now made and generally diffused in those States—Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois—which are to decide the next Presidential contest

HORACE GREELEY,	James Kelley, <i>Chairman State Cent. Com.</i>
B. S. Hedrick,	
JOHN A. KENNEDY,	JOHN JAY,
THURLOW WEED,	Marcus Spring,
J. C. Underwood,	Abram Wakeman,
Wm. Henry Anthon,	WM. C. BRYANT,
E. DELAFIELD SMITH,	R. H. McCurdy.

In aid of the general fund for circulating one hundred thousand copies of the work in hand, subscriptions up to the 15th of June, 1859, amount to about \$3,700, of which the following, as will respectively appear, have been received in sums of from \$10 to \$250 :

Beers, Abner, New York city.....	\$ 10
BONNEY, B. W.,	100
Brown, Nicholas, Warwick, R. I.....	100
Burdick, Asher B., Brooklyn, N. Y.....	100
Clark, James Freeman, Jamaica Plains, Mass.....	10
Clay, Cassius M., Whitehall, Ky.....	25
Clay, Cassius M., for a Kentucky clergyman.....	250
Clay, Cassius M., for several persons.....	10
DARRAH ROBERT L., New York city.....	10
Dudley, E. G., Boston, Mass.....	50
Endicott, Wm., Jr., Boston, Mass.....	100
Farnum, Jonathan, Millville, Mass.....	20
FISKE, EDWARD F., Brooklyn, N. Y.....	100
Fosdick, Samuel, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	10
French, Stiles, New Haven, Conn.....	10

Frisbie, M. J., New York city.....	100
Frothingham, O. B., Jersey City.....	100
Goodloe, D. R., and friend, Washington, D. C.....	15
Greeley Horace, New York city.....	100
Greenleaf, R. C., Boston, Mass.....	50
Harris Edward, Woonsocket, R. I.....	100
Hedrick, Benjamin S., New York city.....	50
Helper, H. R., New York city.....	100
Hurlbut, F., Brooklyn, N. Y.....	25
JAY, JOHN, New York city.....	25
KETCHAM, EDGAR, New York city.....	25
McCauley, William, Wilmington, Del.....	10
Marble, Nathan, Fort Byron, N. Y.....	10
May, Samuel, Boston, Mass.....	100
MORGAN, EDWIN D., Albany, N. Y.....	100
Nesmith, John, Lowell, Mass.....	100
Norton, John T., Farmington, Conn.....	100
Parsons, J. C., New York.....	10
Pinner, M., Kansas City, Mo.....	10
Plumly, Benjamin Rush, Philadelphia, Pa.....	100
Randolph, Evan, Philadelphia, Pa.....	20
Republicans of Pottsville and N. Coventry, Pa., \$40; Crown Point, N. Y., \$11.....	51
Republicans of Shawnee Mound, \$29; South Bend Indiana, \$10.....	39
Roberts, W. S., New York city.....	10
Robinson, Hanson, New Castle county, Del.....	20
Ryerson, David, Newtown, N. J.....	64
Sherman, S. N., Ogdensburg, N. Y.....	32
Smith, Gerritt, Petersboro, N. Y.....	20
Spring, Marcus, Eagleswood, N. J.....	100
Stover, John A., Smyrna, N. Y.....	1
STRANAHAN, J. S. T., Brooklyn, N. Y.....	100
TAPPEN LEWIS,	100
Thompson, Wm. B., Philadelphia, Pa.....	100
Tweedy, Edmund, Newport, R. I.....	10
WADSWORTH, JAMES S., New York city.....	100
WAKEMAN, ABRAM, New York city.....	100
WEED, THURLOW, Albany, N. Y.....	100
White, Aaron, Thompson, Conn.....	10
Wright, E. N. and James A., Philadelphia, Pa.....	50
Wood, Bradford R., Albany, N. Y.....	100
A. A., \$50; B. B., \$50; C. C., \$10; D. D., \$10; E. \$20; F. F., \$25, North Carolina.....	105
S. F. M., Wilmington, Del.....	10
A friend, by S. E. Sewell, Boston, Mass., \$10; E. B., Brooklyn, N. Y., \$25.....	35
Total.....	\$3,518

Such is the record! We now ask, in all candor, whether these men, *the leaders of the Republican Party*, who endorsed and circulated the above book, are not morally, before High Heaven, responsible for the revolution and bloodshed which has followed? If they *really* intended to carry out their threatened designs, when they got into power, then every man can see why the South took such steps as she thought would insure her safety. If they *did not intend* to carry out these *threats*, they are none the less responsible, for they *convinced* and *alarmed* the South that they *did* intend to carry them out. There is, therefore, no escape for them as being *justly and mainly responsible* for our present *civil war*. Will any one dare to

assert that these men are not the leaders of the Republican party? Look over the names and see whether nearly all are not high priests at present in the party now engaged in carrying out *the very programme to which they pledged themselves?* The author of this atrocious book now holds a position under Mr. Lincoln's administration! William H. Seward, who declared it a work of "*great merit*," is Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of State; L. Clephane, of Washington, another endorser, is Postmaster of that city; C. A. Peabody, of New York, is now Judge of Mr. Lincoln's Courts in New Orleans; David Dudley Field and Wm. Curtis Noyes broke up the Peace Convention; Abram Wakeman, another endorser, is rewarded with the position of Postmaster of New York. A number

are still members of Congress. Some are really *fighting* to carry out their principles as they said they would, like Frank Blair, of Missouri, and S. R. Curtis, of Iowa. Most of them, however, are content to hold civil positions, and spend their time in coaxing, or *drafting* Democrats to do the fighting. Yet all, in one way or another, are vigorously at work to make good their assertion, "WE HAVE DETERMINED TO ABOLISH SLAVERY, AND SO HELP US GOD, ABOLISH IT WE WILL."—Can the people be any longer deceived as to who are justly responsible, before God, for our present *horrible, fratricidal* and devastating negro equality, CIVIL WAR, and *all* the consequences that have followed in its train?

1864

THE FIRST GUN!

THE UPHOLDERS OF JOHN BROWN.

We have now shown from the "record" the growth of the "Republican" party from 1854 down to 1857, when it endorsed the Helper book and adopted it as a campaign document. It will be seen how gradually and yet surely it developed its real animus. The abolition egg was laid by Garrison and Phillips, Seward, Lincoln, Chase and Greeley sat upon it, and the first viper they hatched was John Brown. He committed the first overt-act, he struck the first blow, he fired "*the first gun*," in the great and bloody revolution now desolating our land. It will be remembered that Brown stealthily went to Virginia in the fall of 1859, and at Harper's Ferry commenced his diabolical scheme of inciting the negroes to insurrection against their masters.

The first step in the Helper programme had been taken. We will now show from the recognized leaders, speakers, members, etc., of the Republican party that it was in *thorough* sympathy with John Brown. Its condemnations were all halting and feeble. Its commendations all warm and enthusiastic.

OWEN LOVEJOY.

Mr. OWEN LOVEJOY, of Illinois, has been a Republican member of Congress for several years, from Illinois, and a member of good standing in the Repub-

lican party. In his speech of April 5th, 1860, he thus defended old Brown:

"I believe that his *purpose was a good one*; that so far as motives went, his were honest and truthful. He was not guilty of MURDER or TREASON. Despotism has seldom sacrificed three nobler victims than Brown, Stevens and Hazlett."

ALBERT J. RIDDLE.

On the 2d of December, 1859, the day on which John Brown expiated his guilt upon the gallows, in Charles-town, Virginia, the Melodeon Hall, in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, was draped in mourning, and a meeting there assembled to mourn over his fate. Albert G. Riddle was the president of the meeting, and made a speech, which we find reported in the *Morning Leader*, the Black Republican paper published in that city, from which we quote:

John Brown is dead, but what of that? Why is it that you gather together here, and all over the land the very bells have vibrated with the significance of the hour? Do we venerate a traitor? *Not at all, but because slavery has seized the old man, John Brown, in the gaze of two hemispheres, as a victim on whom to wreak their vengeance.* It matters not to us that all this is done under the forms of law. What of that? *So ages ago, the charge was made against the Saviour of the world, and a "strong case," as the*

lawyers would say, was found, and he was pronounced guilty and put to death.

But this event has also developed and exhibited the nobleness and greatness of Brown and his associates. *The liveliest imagination fails to show us the fullness of the lesson which has been taught on the scaffold, as the pearly gates opened and as pure a soul entered as has passed into the hereafter in the last thousand years.*

The following resolutions were passed at this meeting :

Resolved, That the system of negro slavery, as it now exists in some of the States of the American Confederacy, is but the "experiment of despotism," which lives upon conceptions, and becomes lusty upon conciliations and compromises. It is, in the words of Wesley, "the sum of all villainies," and can only be subdued by giving it, in Southern parlance, "war to the knife, with the knife to the hilt."

Resolved, That we fully agree in sentiment with those fathers of the Republic who, before the adoption of the Constitution, and while that instrument was undergoing examination, patriotically exclaimed "however desirable a union of these States may be, the preservation of our liberties is still more desirable."—We have, by force of circumstances, become convinced that the "irrepressible conflict" is upon us, and that it will never terminate until "freedom or slavery go to the wall." In such a contest, and under such a dire necessity, we say, "without fear and without reproach," let freedom stand though the Union be dissolved !

JUDGE D. R. TILDEN.

Judge Tilden made a speech in support of the resolutions, from which we quote the following :—

"Amid the feelings I felt on the death of my old and valued friend, I am almost unable to express myself as I otherwise would. I could not fail, however, to express to this meeting my respect, my admiration, my veneration for the old man

Virginia has this day executed on the gallows. John Brown has gone to his grave, and we can't call him back, but I propose that *we baptize ourselves in his spirit*, and stand upon a foundation of adamant in *unalterable hostility to slavery.*

JUDGE R. P. SPAULDING.

Judge Spaulding made a short speech, from which we extract the following :—

"I claim John Brown as a *hero, true to his conscience and true to his God.*—We have met to honor him for his faithfulness to his convictions of duty, and his principles. *We have met to honor those principles, and the cause in which he died.*

HORACE GREELEY.

Now listen to Horace Greeley in the *Tribune*, of the 9th December, 1859 :—

"Unwise the world will pronounce him—reckless of artificial yet palpable obligations he certainly was ; his very errors were heroic, the faults of a brave, impulsive, truthful nature, impatient of wrong, and only too conscious that *resistance to tyrants is obedience to God !*—Let whoever would first cast a stone, ask himself *whether his own noblest act was equal in grandeur and nobility* to that for which John Brown pays the penalty of death on the gallows."

Again Greeley says :—

"To all who have suffered for human good, who have been persecuted for an idea, who have been hated because of their efforts to make the daily path of the despised and unfortunate less rugged, *his memory will be fragrant through generations.* It will be easier to die hereafter in a good cause, even on the gallows, since John Brown has *hallowed that mode of exit* from the troubles and temptations of this mortal life."

WINSTED HERALD.

We next quote from the *Winsted* (Connecticut) *Herald*, a strong Republican paper, which then had flying at its masthead the names of Lincoln and Hamlin :—

"For one, we confess we love him, we honor him, we applaud him. He is honest in his principles, courageous in their defence, and we have yet to be taught, reading from the book of inspiration we acknowledge, *how and wherein old John Brown is a transgressor.*"

"He dared to undertake what *you* (the Republican leaders), in the security of your sanctums, only are *bold to preach.*"

GOV. JOHN A. ANDREWS.

John A. Andrews, the Republican Governor of Massachusetts, presided at a John Brown sympathy meeting in Boston, on the 19th of Nov. 1859, at which Wendell Phillips and R. W. Emerson made speeches. He too made a speech, from which the following is an extract:—

John Brown and his companions in the conflict at Harper's Ferry, those who fell there and those who are to suffer on the scaffold, are victims and martyrs to an idea. *There is an irrepressible conflict* [great applause] between freedom and slavery as old and as immortal as the irrepressible conflict between right and wrong. *They are among the martyrs of that conflict. John Brown was right.*—I sympathize with the man, I sympathize with the idea, *because I sympathize with and believe in the eternal right.* They who are dependent upon him and his sons and his associates, in the battle at Harper's Ferry, *have a right to call upon us who have professed to believe, or who have, in any manner or measure, taught the doctrine of the rights of man as applied to the colored slaves of the South, to stand by them in their bereavement.* We are to-night in the presence of a great and an awful sorrow, which has fallen like a pall upon many families whose hearts fail, whose affections are lacerated, and whose hopes are crushed—all of hope left on earth destroyed by an event, which, under the providence of God, *I pray will be over-ruled for that good which was contemplated and intended by John Brown.*

NEW YORK EVENING POST.

In reference to the general expression of sorrow for John Brown's fate, the Evening Post of December 3d, 1859, said:

It is, therefore, we think, a sign, not of national decline, but of *growth* in all the *real elements of national greatness*, that sorrowing hundreds of thousands should have been found to overlook this man's errors in admiration for *his heroism, for his fortitude and for his hatred of oppression!* It is to such qualities as these, and not to a holy horror of *mere disorder*, that we owe our existence as a nation, and when the day comes in which no man will be found in America to cry *Bravo!* when he sees them, our final extinction will not be very far distant.

NEW HAVEN PALLADIUM.

The *New Haven Palladium* talked about Brown's execution thus:

John Brown had no murder, nor treason in his heart. His mission was one of freedom. Eulogies, marble monuments, poems and processions, will celebrate his fame, and give his name to posterity as that of a *good man, and a true friend to his race.*

HARTFORD PRESS.

This paper thus endorses Brown:

For the old veteran himself (Brown), *we have profound respect*—not pity—that he asks from no man. He scorns excuse, or apology—he saw his fellow men in chains—he counted the cost, and went strait to rescue them. * * * * * *Heaven send us more of the element that makes such men.*

REV. MR. GULLIVER.

The Rev. Mr. Gulliver of Norwich, Connecticut, preached a sermon on the execution of John Brown, which was published in the *Norwich Bulletin*, a Republican paper. He said:

John Brown is a man whose moral developments so tower above those of the mass of men, that by one consent they are pronounced sublime. His crime was not murder, or inciteing others to murder. * * * His crime was *the attempt to give a practical exposition of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence*. It was simply an attempt to do, on a large and impracticable scale, what he had previously done on a small, but practicable scale, in Kansas.

That is, "a practical exposition of the construction of the Declaration of Independence," which we have shown that Lincoln, Seward, Chase and Greeley, all taught. It is no wonder, therefore, that Senator Wilson declared in his speech at Syracuse, N. Y., October 29th, 1859:

I tell you fellow-citizens, the Harper's Ferry outbreak *was the legitimate consequence of the teachings of the Republican party!*

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

On the 20th day of November, 1859, there was a large meeting held at Natick, Mass., the residence of Senator Henry Wilson, who was present. We give the following account of it from a letter of Henry C. Wright, a notorious New England Abolitionist, who was present. He says, in a letter to the *Richmond Enquirer*, dated Nov. 21:

A large and enthusiastic meeting of the citizens of this town, (the residence of Hon. Henry Wilson,) was called to consider the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God, therefore,

Resolved, That it is the highest duty of the slaves to resist their masters; and it is the right and duty of the people of the North *to incite slaves to resistance, and aid them in it.*

This was adopted; and though a U. S. Senator, (Henry Wilson,) and a U. S. Postmaster were present, not a dissentient voice was raised against it. The

resolution utters the thought of Massachusetts, of New England, and of New York. I have reason to know it does. * * *Though our Senators and Representatives in Congress dare not avow this as their opinion in Washington, at home among their constituents they countenance and sustain it by direct advocacy, or by silence.* It was asserted in the above meeting, that John Brown, at Harper's Ferry, had truly embodied the general idea of the North. * * *There are thousands among us who have known his plans and movements the past four or five years, and have sympathized with him.*

THEODORE TILTON.

A "sympathizing" meeting was held in Philadelphia on the 2d of December, 1859, the day of John Brown's execution, at which Theodore Tilton, editor of the *Independent*, said:

This scaffold in Virginia will stand as long as the world stands! No man can ever blot it out, or put it away! It will abide forever as a monument of a Christian man, who lived a *hero and died a martyr*, and whose name to-day bequeathed to history, shall go down through the world gathering increasing honors in all coming time.

MILWAUKEE FREE DEMOCRAT.

To show that the sympathy for John Brown was not confined to New England, we quote the following from the *Milwaukee Free Democrat*, December 2, 1859, the day John Brown was executed:

HEART THROBS.—At twelve o'clock to-day the city of Milwaukee fired *one hundred guns* for old John Brown. These mighty *heart throbs* throughout the North, will shake the dome of heaven, and send the life-blood of Freedom through all departments of the government.

REV. EDWIN M. WHEELOCK.

This *reverend divine* ! preached a sermon on the 6th of November, 1859, at Dover, N. H., in which he said :

One such man as John Brown makes total depravity impossible, and proves that American greatness died not with Washington. *The gallows from which he ascends to Heaven will be in our politics what the Cross is in our religion.*

* * *To be hanged in Virginia is like being crucified in Jerusalem.* It is the last tribute that sin pays to virtue.

THE JOHN BROWN FUND.

Perhaps the strongest evidence of the extent to which the northern mind had become depraved by "the teachings of the Republican party," was exhibited in the raising of a "John Brown Fund" for his family. Theodore Hyatt, a man who was subsequently under arrest for refusing to tell *all* he knew about the Conspiracy, had charge of raising the Fund. It was to be obtained by selling a photograph likeness of the old murderer, and the New York *Tribune* opened its columns as the medium for presenting the scheme to the public, warmly recommending it. So great was the rush for them that Hyatt writes to the *Tribune* on the 19th of November, five days after the first announcement, that within "the short period of *about one hundred hours, the Fund had reached two hundred dollars* ! Hyatt published extracts from the letters he received in the columns of the *Tribune*. It will be instructive to quote some of them, to see how the poison had penetrated all classes, women and children, as well as men.

Lydia Maria Childs, writes :

I enclose you \$2; I should like to have every form of his likeness that can be devised, and have no corner of my dwelling without a memorial of him. *The brave, self-sacrificing, noble old man !*

A Clergyman, Waterford, N.Y., writes:

God bless you, and those engaged with you; I enclose \$1, for *good old Brown's* photograph, I want it, that *my children* may the more frequently have their attention called to the brave *old martyr*.

Yours for *God and humanity*.

Dwight R. Atkinson, Honesdale Pa., writes :

Although but *ten years old*, I feel like aiding in your noble enterprise. I shall anxiously await the arrival of a photograph of the old hero, whom I have learned to love with my whole heart from hearing the accounts of his trial and sufferings, as published in the New York *Daily Tribune* !

D. H., West Troy, New York, writes :
Send me three photographs of the *greatest hero of the age*.

D. M. E. Lancaster, Ohio, writes :
Enclosed find one dollar. Let us in every way uphold the hand that strikes *for freedom through the land*.

S. S., Bethel, Connecticut, writes :
I wish to send my mite to make up the fund, for the family of John Brown, "that *Israelite, indeed, in whom there is no guile*."

A Pastor, from Illinois, writes :
Enclosed is two dollars for the *dear old man* ; my soul is sorrowful for him.

Lucy N. C., of Rochester, writes :
Enclosed find my subscription for the likeness of *dear old John Brown*.

S. E., of New York, writes :
Every true friend of freedom is morally and indirectly the *accomplice of John Brown*. Every man who hates slavery and is not afraid to answer for his principles, and their consequences, *is his accomplice*.

But enough. It admits of no doubt that the John Brown raid, in the words of Senator Wilson, was "the *legitimate consequences of the teachings of the Republican party*." All the above extracts will be found in a file of the *Daily Tribune*, for November, 1859.

THE DENOUEMENT.

THE UNION BROKEN. THEY WILL NOT HAVE IT BACK.

The next great act in this Abolition Conspiracy opens in the Spring of 1861, about eighteen months only after the failure of the John Brown raid. Can any man who can present a fair claim to the right to live outside an Insane Asylum, suppose for a single moment that the men who, as we have seen, deified the murderer of Southern citizens, and who, for ten years, poured one steady stream of denunciation, obloquy, and hate upon the Union, *really desired to preserve it?* The South simply took these men at their own words. *They*, of all men, had no right to complain.—They had said they intended to destroy “slavery”—they had sympathized with a man who undertook to do it on a small scale, and even Horace Greeley condemned his scheme, not because it was *wrong*, but because it was *impracticable*. It admits of no doubt, and is proved by the despatch that Seward authorized to be sent to Charleston, that the war was really commenced by a deception and a juggle. In fact, Mr. Seward has within the last four months, publicly avowed that when conflict became inevitable, he thought it his duty to take care “that the war should be begun by the enemies of the Union,” meaning the South Carolina authorities. In a matter of this kind, however, it makes really no difference whether “the first gun” was fired by John Brown or Beauregard. The match has been laid during long

years of bitterness and strife—and it was only a question of time when it would ignite. No one gun, or twenty guns, could make a war between a people whose hearts were really friendly and fraternal. “The Irrepressible Conflict.” “*The Abolition of Slavery or the Destruction of the Union*,” was the great gun that made the war. But strange to say, no sooner was the war commenced than the Abolitionists turned right around and cried, “Everybody should fight for the Union; the glorious Union—the beloved Union—the best Government that ever existed.” People believed them. Those who had been trying for years to save the Union by reconciling conflicting opinions, by cultivating fraternal feelings, and who proposed to continue it, were thrust in the background. They were said to be Secessionists, Disunionists, Traitors. Still people believed them. They resolved in Congress, July, 1861, that

This war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest, or for interfering with the rights or established institutions of these States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity and rights of the several States unimpaired—and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease.

Was not this plain? Still the old friends of the Union said:

The war is not for the Union, simply because the Union cannot be obtained in *that* way. There is a cheat somewhere. These men will yet disown their own words. They want soldiers now. Wait until they get them, and they will show their cloven feet.

And they did—January 1st, 1863, Abraham Lincoln issued his Free Negro Proclamation, by which “all slaves in the rebel states were *forever* free.” The Abolitionists were satisfied. About “slavery” in the Border States they cared but little. That would inevitably follow. The great point had been gained—“the Government was now pledged to freedom.” *The Union of WASHINGTON was gone!* Lo! the Union of Lincoln appeared! It was a *new* Union. A Union with free negroes! “The Union as *it ought to be*”—forsooth, a Union of blood and sorrow—of graveyards and tombstones—a Union now, that drags unwilling men to fight for negroes—a Union loaded with debts, taxation and a rag currency! But, no matter. The Abolitionists declared they would have no other. Boldness had ever been one of their characteristics, and, to their credit be it said, the very men who threatened that they would destroy the Union, now openly boasted that *they had done it*, and did not want it back again. We propose now to collate some evidence on this point, and then leave the subject to the reflection of the reader. First, we will commence with the pioneer who generally keeps about twelve months ahead of the rest of his party.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

On the 14th of March, 1862, Wendell Phillips made a speech in Washington, which we believe Mr. Lincoln attended, in which he said:

I have labored nineteen years to take

nineteen States out of this Union, and if I have spent any nineteen years to the satisfaction of my Puritan conscience, it was those nineteen years. The child of six generations of Puritans, I was taught at a mother's knee to love purity before peace. [Applause.] And when Daniel Webster taught me that the Union meant making white men hypocrites and black men slaves; that it meant Lynch-law in the Carolinas, and mob-law in Massachusetts; that it meant lies in the pulpit and gags in the Senate; when I was told that the cementing of the Union was returning slaves to their masters, in the name of the God I loved, and had been taught to honor, I cursed the Constitution and the Union, and endeavored to break it; and, thank God, it is broken. [Laughter.]

The next day he was received on the floor of the Senate, the Vice-President of the United States leaving his chair to welcome him!

HORACE GREELEY.

January 28th, 1863, the New York *Tribune* contained an editorial in which the following passage, containing substantially the same sentiments as Phillips expresses, occurred:

Speaking for ourselves, we can honestly say that for the *old Union*, which was kept in existence by Southern menaces and Northern concessions, we have *no regrets and no wish for its reconstruction.*

S. C. POMEROY.

Hon. S. C. Pomeroy, is the Republican United States Senator from the State of Kansas, he delivered a speech in Newark, New Jersey, July 6th, 1863, which was reported by the *Advertiser*, the Republican organ of that city. We quote from its report:

How shall a peace be procured that will restore the Union as it was? Can it be done. Mr. Pomeroy's opinion was that is was neither possible nor *desirable*. *

* * The old Union produced such men

as Mason, Toombs, and Butler, and tapered off with such men as Pierce and Buchanan. Can such a Union be restored? No, *it is impossible*. Noah might as well have looked for the Garden of Eden after the deluge as for us to look for the restoration of the Union after such a war; the material must be restored to its native element; the Union can not be restored as it was, and he for one, must say frankly, that *he would not have it, if he could*.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Even Abraham Lincoln himself, uses language more guarded than the above, it is true, but in spirit and sentiment substantially the same. In his annual message of December, 1862, just before he issued his emancipation proclamation he said:

The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stirring present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As the case is new, so we must think and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

"The dogmas of the quiet past" must mean "the Union as it was," which Mr. Lincoln regards as "inadequate," and Mr. Pomeroy as "impossible." "We must think and act anew." That is work for "the Union as it ought to be"—a negro equality Union!

HON. M. F. CONWAY.

In a speech delivered in Congress in the winter of Winter of 1862-3, this Republican member from Kansas, said:

"Sir, I am not in favor of restoring the constitutional relation of slaveholders to the Union, nor of the war to that end. On the contrary, *I am utterly and forever opposed to both*. I am in favor of reconquering the loyal States of the American nation, based as they are on the principle of freedom to all, without distinction of race, color, or condition. I conceive, therefore, that the true object of this war is to *revolutionize the National Government*.

HON. THADDEUS STEVENS.

Thaddeus Stevens is the Republican Member of Congress for the Lancaster District of Pennsylvania. He was Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in the last Congress, and Administration leader on the floor of the House of Representatives. In a speech in the volume of 1862-3, he said:

This talk of restoring the Union as it was, under the Constitution as it is, is *one of the absurdities which I have heard repeated until I have become about sick of it*. The Union can never be restored as it was.—There are many things which render such an event impossible. *This Union never shall, with my consent, be restored under the Constitution as it is, with slavery to be protected by it.*

HANNIBAL HAMLIN.

Mr. Hamlin is Vice-President, and if any one speaks the sentiments of the party he must be the man. In a speech delivered at the Cooper Institute, in October, 1863, he said:

We have a class of men among us in Maine who very much want the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was. Have you got them here? (Voices—"Yes.") I am very sorry indeed that they cannot have it. There is no possible way in which they can have it. *It is mere demagogism, mere clap-trap; it is nonsense—it is not very good nonsense.*

THE WASHINGTON REPUBLICAN.

This journal is the reputed organ of Mr. Lincoln in Washington, and though he may deny that he has "an organ," yet the fact that its columns are filled with "government advertisements," and that it is sustained and supported by the Administration, is sufficient to give weight and authority to what it says. Shortly before the issue of the Emancipation Proclamation, it said:

"The farce of restoring the Union, as it was, is played out."

CASSIUS M. CLAY.

Mr. Cassius M. Clay, Mr. Lincoln's Minister to Russia, in a speech in New York, in 1862, said :

Better recognize the Southern Confederacy at once, and stop this effusion of blood, rather than continue in the ruinous policy, or *have even a restoration of the Union as it was.*

REV. MR. CHILDS.

The Rev. Mr. Childs, a Republican political parson, in a war speech made at Springfield, Ohio, on the 19th September, 1862, said :

The man who desires to have the Union as it was, ought to be hanged up by the heels until he be dead, dead, dead! and the wolves and ravens ought to eat the flesh from his carcass.

CONCLUSION.

Our limits are reached. We might extend similar quotations sufficient to make a volume, but if those herein contained are not enough to convince a person of the treasonable character of the so-called Republican Party, he would not be convinced though one rose from the dead! It is proved in every line.—The bold course of Garrison and Phillips, however, declaring "the Constitution an agreement with hell," would not answer. Hence, Wm. H. Seward, the antitype of Satan upon the earth, declared, in plausible speech and cunning words, "*Say not that Slavery has any Constitutional guarantees that cannot and ought not to be relinquished.*"—"*Circumstances determine possibilities.*"—"*You and I must abolish Slavery.*"—The South, when he got in power, ac-

cepted him at his word—believed he would do what he had promised. The bloodshed so long called for by Abolition zealots began to flow. Then, for a wonder, the very men who had been crying for years, "Away with the Union; it is not worth preserving," cried, "The South are trying to destroy the glorious Union. Rally to its defense." Thousands, tens of thousands, yea, hundreds of thousands did rally. Half a million perished on battle-fields, or are disabled by wounds and sickness, ere eighteen months have rolled around. Now we hear another cry, coming from the same men. "The Union is gone. The sight of the Union as it was, shall never again bless the vision of any Northern proslavery fanatic." After having accomplished their purposes; after concealment is no longer possible, and when the deceived began to call for that which has been destroyed, the CONSPIRACY STANDS CONFESSED. The design to overthrow the *White Man's Union*, formed by the glorious and immortal WASHINGTON, and to establish a so-called Union in which negroes should be amalgamated with the whites, and made equals, is proved by the *entire tenor of all the extracts we have quoted*. The motto of Phillips and Garrison, now acknowledged members of the party, has been reached, and the policy put forth by a prominent official of the Administration, Solicitor Whiting: "THE OVERTHROW OF THE UNION, THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, and the reduction of the Southern States and Southern citizens to the condition of colonies and vassals." Fitting climax! Treason has ripened into despotism!

Reader, show this Pamphlet to your Republican neighbor, and ask him if he can gain say its facts, or refute its conclusions?

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FOR 1864.

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